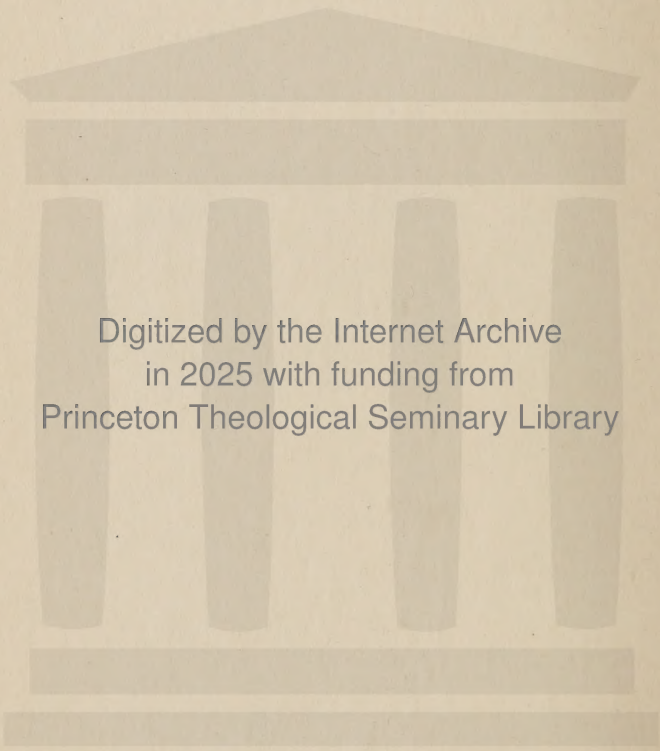
LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
JUN 5 1995
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

BS
1823
.T4
1950


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

https://archive.org/details/firstbookofmacca00unse

THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES

Dropsie College Edition

JEWISH APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

SOLOMON ZEITLIN
Editor-in-Chief

ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN
Chairman, Editorial Board

MOSES HADAS
Secretary, Editorial Board

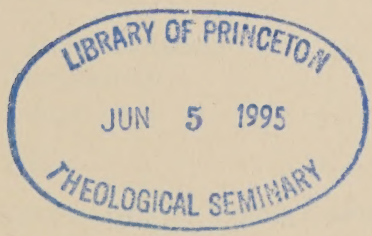
JOSHUA BLOCH
MORTIMER J. COHEN
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF
THEODOR H. GASTER
SOLOMON GOLDMAN
ROBERT GORDIS
CYRUS H. GORDON
FELIX A. LEVY
RALPH MARCUS
JULIAN MORGENSTERN
HARRY M. ORLINSKY
DAVID DE SOLA POOL
JOSEPH REIDER
SOLOMON L. SKOSS
SIDNEY TEDESCHE
HARRY A. WOLFSON
FRANK ZIMMERMANN

Bible. O.T. Apocrypha, Maccabees, 1st.
English. Tedesche. 1950.

THE FIRST BOOK OF
MACCABEES

An English Translation
by
SIDNEY TEDESCHE

Introduction and Commentary
by
SOLOMON ZEITLIN



Published for

THE DROPSIE COLLEGE

FOR HEBREW AND COGNATE LEARNING

by

HARPER & BROTHERS, NEW YORK

THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES

COPYRIGHT, 1950, BY HARPER & BROTHERS

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

All rights in this book are reserved.
No part of the book may be reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information address Harper & Brothers

E-Z

CONTENTS

Foreword ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN vii

Preface xiii

Introduction 1

I. The Eastern Mediterranean under Alexander's Successors 1
The Internal Struggle in Judaea 11
Antiochus Epiphanes and the Jews 16

II. Analysis of Contents 19

III. Authorship, Date, Language 24
Date of Composition 27
Original Language 33

IV. Historical Value 34

V. State Documents: Official Correspondence 38

VI. The Name of the Book and of Its Hero; Its Chronology 48

VII. Religious Aspects: Hanukkah 50

VIII. Literary Affinities: Josephus, Josippon, Megillat Antiochus
Josephus 55
The Hebrew Josippon and the Latin Hegesippus 58
Megillat Antiochus 60

IX. Hasmonaeans and Maccabees in Rabbinic and Patristic Literature 61

X. Manuscripts and Editions 64

Text, Translation, Commentary and Critical Notes 67

Appendices

Appendix A The Title 247

Appendix B The Name "Maccabee" 250

Appendix C
1. Chronology 252
2. The Sabbatical Cycles 254
3. The Seleucid Era in I Maccabees 257
4. Josephus and the Seleucid and Olympiad Eras 262
5. Ptolemaic and Seleucidean Dynasties 264
6. Chronological Table of Events ... 264

Abbreviations 267

Sources and Selected Bibliography 269

Index 273

FOREWORD

ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN

It is fitting that we introduce the present publication of I Maccabees with a Foreword, to make clear the historic significance of this publication as the initial work in a great literary project sponsored by the Dropsie College, a new edition of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha under the title, Jewish Apocryphal Literature.

This undertaking is inspired by a resolve to redirect this literature which was cut off from its source in Judaism to its original spiritual habitat in Jewish thought. Thereby a truer understanding of these religious classics will be made possible which will in turn illumine more faithfully their influence upon later Rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity. It appears as an act of poetic justice that after a severance of almost two thousand years when these works were first renounced and later neglected in Jewish circles that they should now be reclaimed for Jewish literature through the cooperative enterprise of Jewish scholarship under the aegis of the Dropsie College. Surely no time could be more fitting for this act of restoration than our own period fraught with tragedy but also with millennial hopes for the world in general and for Israel in particular even as in the days of the Apocalyptists whose writings loom so large in this literature.

The writings generally known as the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha are a part of the Jewish literature belonging chiefly to the period of the Second Commonwealth. Some of the writings were composed in the traditions of prophecy; others are akin to the Wisdom literature or the narrative historical books of the Bible. Those works which originated in Palestine were written

in Hebrew or Aramaic. The books composed in Greek were by Jewish authors who lived in Hellenistic centers beyond the borders of Palestine.

All of these writings are of Biblical character and presumably laid claim to sacred rank among the Scriptures. But they failed of admission to the canon. To emphasize their rejection, the Jewish religious authorities banned these works from circulation. They were declared *Sefarim Hizonim*, rejected works to be hidden or kept secret. The equivalent designation in Greek was apocrypha.

The criterion of the Scribes or Pharisees which determined the admission or exclusion of a book from the Scriptures was the acceptance or rejection of its claim to divine inspiration, or its being inspired by the holy spirit. It would appear that a work written outside the Holy Land in a foreign tongue was automatically excluded as lacking divine authentication. Likewise an arbitrary dictum declared that the prophecies of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi sealed the end of prophetic revelation. In other words, "prophecy ceased in Israel" at the conclusion of the Persian period. Thus, no book which clearly belonged to the Hellenistic, Hasmonaean or later periods could gain admission to the canon according to this ruling, no matter how intrinsically valuable its content or teaching might be.

The elimination of a substantial number of the books included in the present list of the apocrypha was, therefore, virtually automatic. Only those Hebrew or Aramaic works that presumed to be of ancient origin or whose late date of composition was not clearly evident could come into consideration as inspired writings with a claim to inclusion in the sacred Scriptures. These works formed the subject of long and protracted debate, reflecting the controversies between the Pharisees and the Sadducees and the heated views of the Apocalyptist and other visionary sects. The process of selection and exclusion continued for several centuries. Not till the middle of the second century C.E. were the debates finally ended and the Hebrew canon was fixed for all time. In the intervening period, however, decisions

were made from time to time, and those works concerning which a verdict could be reached, were declared as coming within the canon or they were definitely banned.

The writings that were excluded as a result of theological or doctrinal deviations are, in some respects, the most fascinating and historically illuminating books of the apocryphal series. They reveal the views which the religious authorities sought to suppress. Thus these books open to us a scene of feverish religious agitation. We behold through these writings some who played on the strains of prophecy and spoke in the name of God but who were denounced as impostors, or false prophets. One sees imaginatively circles of apocalyptists, dubbed as fanatics, gather around their inspired poets or prophets who lead them on to heights of fantastic vision. In this heated atmosphere, religious ideas and symbolic concepts, venerated through the ages, are revolutionized. The Biblical concept of the human Messiah is transformed into a supernatural being. The kingdom of God is transferred from the world of earthly man to the heavenly regions. Angels and demons abound in great number, acquiring a prominence formerly unknown in the Jewish religion.

In vain was the outcry of the religious authorities and futile were the efforts to curb religious heresy. Startling and novel teachings continued to be propagated by word of mouth and in numerous writings. It was this which undoubtedly led the religious authorities to proclaim that prophecy had already ceased; that no one since the days of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi could claim divine inspiration. As this declaration did not stop the flow of inspired writings, responsible religious leaders resorted to drastic measures to curb what they deemed to be heresy and falsehood. They banned these books from circulation, declaring them to be *Sefarim Hizonim*. Their reading was subsequently sternly forbidden under severe religious penalty, involving the forfeiture of the right to "share in the world to come."

But in line with all human experiences, the apocryphal litera-

ture proves that ideas cannot be suppressed by bans and threats. Although the writings were shunned by the masses who heeded the admonitions of their religious teachers, there were groups of enthusiasts and mystic sects who were enthralled by the visions and daring flights of these rebel prophets, and accepted their teachings in defiance of established authority.

Undoubtedly, books like Enoch and IV Esdras strongly appealed to many sensitive, tortured souls who could no longer find religious peace or reconcile the prophetic promises with the stark realism of the wretched conditions under which the Jews lived in the pre-Hasmonaean period, either under the Ptolemies or the Seleucids. It was out of the broodings of this deeply religious element that writings arose offering the people a retreat to heaven, a flight to the mystic unknown. They stirred them with an irrational faith in the immediacy of God's miraculous intervention in the fate of Israel. An intensive study of this complex literature reveals more clearly and with greater fidelity the true spirit of Israel's martyrs in the pre-Hasmonaean period and the conflicts of the fanatical parties in the fateful days of Roman occupation than all the sophisticated, historical writings of Josephus.

As indicated, not all the books of the apocrypha are of this intense prophetic, apocalyptic character. Books of Wisdom, historical narratives, a number of romantic tales with an ethical or religious motif fill out the apocryphal list of writings. Some of these books fell into disfavor because of major or even minor halakic deviations. Others like I or II Maccabees could hardly have presented any religious difficulties either from a theological or halakic point of view. Nevertheless, general religious policy dictated their exclusion from the canon.

Whatever the immediate effect of these measures may have been, the banishment of the books caused their ultimate disappearance from among the Jewish people. Only the Church saved them from oblivion. Under its protective custody, the Greek translations incorporated in the Septuagint, and other works sheltered in non-Hebraic translations were preserved for

posterity. The works that Judaism expelled, the early Church gladly admitted. Fourteen books are contained in the Vulgate Old Testament that are not to be found in the Hebrew Scripture. While the Church thus saved these and other works from extinction, it sought to assimilate them to its own religious pattern through forced interpretations, occasional mistranslations and not infrequently, through Christological interpolations. In this manner the meaning and significance of important parts of the apocrypha appear out of focus.

The influence of the apocrypha—the apocalyptic books, in particular—on the New Testament is generally recognized. The New Testament concepts, whether of the Messiah in his supernatural attributes or the Messianic kingdom; whether it be in the nature of demonology or in a heavenly hereafter; whether it be Paradise or Hell, all are deeply rooted in the soil of the apocrypha. Neither the language nor the ideas of the New Testament are intelligible without the apocalyptic background of the apocrypha books.

The same degree of kinship did not exist between the latter and Jewish religious literature. Much of the substance which Christianity drew from the apocrypha was alien, if not repugnant, to the spirit of Judaism. Nevertheless, of the *Sefarim Hizonim* too, it may be said that only the parchment was lost to the Jews, but the letters, or the spirit of the apocrypha continued as a potent factor and influence in Jewish thought and literature for many centuries after the books were presumably lost. Any fresh light that can be thrown on this literature and its period, therefore, is bound to illumine both Judaism and Christianity.

Without in any way impugning the wisdom of the ancient sages, it appears obvious that the time has long passed since the reading or dissemination of these books could in any way be considered detrimental to the Jewish religion. On the contrary, we deem it an act of redemption to reclaim these works for the Jewish people and to restore them to their rightful place of honor in Jewish literature.

Under the aegis of the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cog-

nate Learning and under the direction of the Editorial Board organized at the College, a number of Jewish scholars have been set to the task of preparing a complete edition of Jewish Apocryphal Literature.

This edition will include, in regard to each book, the text of the most ancient version of that work extant, together with an introduction and translation based on a living knowledge of Hebrew and kindred languages and a complete orientation in the history, the thought patterns and the spiritual milieu of the Second Commonwealth.

Even though it is no longer possible to restore the original texts of any of the apocryphal works written in Hebrew or Aramaic, an intimate knowledge of the Hebrew idiom, the Biblical style, and the train of Talmudic and Midrashic thought enables one to reconstruct the meaning of numerous passages that are otherwise baffling and misleading. In particular, an insight is obtained into the subtleties of spiritual concepts that determined the course of historic religious developments.

I Maccabees, translated by Doctor Sidney Tedesche and edited by Doctor Solomon Zeitlin, with introduction, commentary and critical apparatus, is the first publication of the series. It is not feasible to stagger the publication according to any preconceived logical or chronological order. Each book or unit, it is hoped, will make its own contribution until the entire series will be assembled and it will be possible to assess the ensemble as the contribution of cooperative Jewish scholarship in this vital area of Jewish and Christian religious development.

An enterprise of this character should evoke the support of educational Foundations and all lovers of learning. I am happy to acknowledge the generous encouragement which this undertaking received from the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation and from its President, Mr. Harry Starr, whose breadth of literary interest is matched by his warm enthusiastic appreciation of sound learning and constructive scholarship.

PREFACE

While preparing a literary history of the Second Jewish Commonwealth I had occasion to make a thorough study of the apochryphal literature. Increasingly I was made to realize how inaccurate were the translations of many important passages, and how chaotic were the conditions of this literature, particularly the apocalyptic books. Not only were the translations poorly rendered but the dating of the books in many cases was incorrect. This was due it seemed to me to a lack of comprehension of the Jewish background of the apocryphal works and insufficient understanding of the spirit of Judaism of the period.

This Jewish literature came down to us through the Church which preserved it. Christian scholars translated the books into modern languages and interpreted them. In general, these scholars made a great contribution to the historical study of Judaism and early Christianity. Jewish scholars, however, had for the most part unfortunately neglected this literature, a product of Jewish life and genius. To be sure many Jewish scholars wrote excellent articles on individual apocryphal books but they made no collective effort to produce an all-embracing scientific edition of this important literature. To A. Kahana, for his translation and edition of the apocrypha into Hebrew, goes the credit of a first attempt to create a Jewish edition of the apocrypha.

Since there could be no genuine understanding of the Jewish history of the Second Commonwealth as well as a profound grasp of the origins of Christianity nor a full comprehension of the Parting of the Ways without a scientific edition of the apocryphal literature, I came to the conclusion that the time was ripe for Jewish scholarship to endeavor to present to mankind this great literary product of the Jewish people which

throughout the ages has fed and sustained the religious life and thought of western civilization.

These thoughts I conveyed to my friend Doctor Abraham A. Neuman, President of The Dropsie College. His keen historical sense and his scientific mind grasped immediately the importance of a Jewish edition of the apocrypha. The Board of Governors of The Dropsie College, when apprised of this project and its larger significance, pledged their support and cooperation towards its realization. A meeting of Jewish scholars was held at the office of the President of The Dropsie College in December 1947, and a plan was formulated for the editing and publishing of this neglected heritage of Israel's spirit. Thus, a great literary inheritance, rejected by the Jewish sages almost two thousand years ago in a time of emergency, was promised redemption and its official title was designated as *Jewish Apocryphal Literature.*

It is fitting that I Maccabees should inaugurate the series of The Dropsie College Edition of Jewish Apocryphal Literature. This book portrays the struggle of the Jewish people against intolerance and persecution and relates how, with dauntless courage and faith in the righteousness of their cause, they sacrificed their lives and finally won religious liberty and the establishment of an independent state. We may say that the fight of the Hasmonaeans against tyranny and for freedom of conscience was the turning point not only of Jewish history but of western civilization. Were it not for their sacrifices we may postulate that Judaism would have passed into oblivion and Christianity would never have emerged into history.

The Greek text is that of Adolph Rahlfs, and our appreciation is herewith expressed to *Privileg. Wurtt. Bibelanstalt,* Stuttgart for giving permission for its use. Rahlfs' text is quite arbitrary and was chosen because it was superior to other editions. Doctor Sidney Tedesche made the English translation and I contributed the critical apparatus, introduction and commentary. Keeping in mind the modern reader, Dr. Tedesche did not make his translation literal, but at the same time he did

not violate the essential meaning of the Greek text. In many instances, however, the translation could not be in consonance with the Greek text, because the Greek text is faulty. The changes introduced into the translation were adopted in consultation with Dr. Tedesche, but in the final analysis I assume full responsibility for these changes. The changes are based on variant readings found in different versions of the Greek and Latin manuscripts, in Josephus, and the Church Fathers; sometimes the changes are based on the text of Josippon. In a few instances, although there were no manuscripts to support the translation, they were made because I was certain that the Greek translator had misunderstood the original Hebrew and thus the original Hebrew text had to be reconstructed. In each case where the translation does not correspond to the Greek text, the reason for it is given in the Commentary.

The Introduction deals with the many complicated problems of the book: its historicity, original language, authorship and date, as well as with numerous other relevant questions. In the treatment of the book we kept in mind the general reader as well as the technical scholar. Hence its more intricate problems were relegated to the Appendices, where such matters are dealt with, as the Chronology of I Maccabees, Sabbatical Cycles, and other specialized themes.

As to the transliteration of place names found in the Bible it was thought advisable to retain their Hebrew form, for example, Beth Horon, Beth Shean, except where current English usage had decreed otherwise. It must also be noted that the Greek word *ethnos* is rendered heathen on the supposition that the original Hebrew was undoubtedly *goy* meaning heathen.

The manuscript of the Introduction was read by Doctor Moses Hadas, Doctor Felix Levy, Mr. Albert Mordell, Doctor Ralph Weiman and Doctor Harry A. Wolfson who suggested various stylistic changes. To them, and particularly to Doctor Moses Hadas and Doctor Sidney Tedesche, I am grateful for their generous assistance, suggestions and counsel. To Doctor Mortimer J. Cohen I am deeply grateful; he was always at my

service in helping to revise the manuscript in a generous spirit of friendship. Above all I am profoundly indebted to Doctor Abraham A. Neuman for his unfailing encouragement and devoted friendship; without him the entire project could not have been realized.

The English proofs of the book were read by Doctor Sidney Tedesche and myself, and were carefully scrutinized by Doctor Mortimer J. Cohen, Doctor Solomon Freehof and Doctor Felix Levy; the proofs of the Introduction also were read by Doctor Solomon Goldman. Each reader made a contribution to the text as it now appears and appreciation is due to all of them. The proofs of the Greek text were read by Doctor Cyrus Gordon, Doctor Harry Orlinsky, Doctor Joseph Reider, Doctor Sidney Tedesche, Doctor Frank Zimmermann and myself. Mr. David H. Scott, of Harper and Brothers, was very co-operative and helpful in the preparation of this book, always at our service, for which I express my gratitude. I wish to express my appreciation to the staff of the Library of Dropsie College for placing at my disposal all the necessary books.

SOLOMON ZEITLIN

Dropsie College
January, 1950

THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES

INTRODUCTION

The First Book of Maccabees is a historical narrative of the epic struggle of the Jewish people against the overwhelming culture and imperialistic forces of the Hellenistic world. On the Jewish side, it was a desperate battle—brilliantly fought and won—for religious freedom and political independence. The issues in the conflict were far-reaching and momentous. The effect of this epoch-making struggle was felt not only in the creation of a State and of a new era in Jewish history, but even more significantly through its impact on the creative forces of the Jewish religion which in turn powerfully affected the religious destiny of mankind.

For a full appreciation of the historic drama depicted in I Maccabees, it is necessary to bear in mind its historic setting and background; to clarify the complicated forces, social, political, economic and religious, which preceded the war and determined its outcome. As an ancient literary document, its authenticity, documentation, age and authorship must also be clarified. These questions and kindred problems will be treated in this Introduction.

I

The Eastern Mediterranean under Alexander's Successors

The conquests of Alexander the Great marked the greatest revolution in the recorded period of eastern Mediterranean history. Peoples of old and distinguished position found their

nationalities erased, themselves degraded and their cultures despised before the expanding Hellenistic environment which was now dominant. Many sought to achieve at least cultural survival, but only the Jewish effort succeeded, and only of the Jewish effort do we have a full literary record. The story of Jewish contacts with Hellenism begins, appropriately enough, with Alexander himself. After the battle of Issus (332 BCE) had assured his domination of the Near East, he marched towards Egypt along the Phoenician coast. A Talmudic story relates that the High Priest Simon came forth from Jerusalem to greet Alexander, who is said to have offered sacrifices in the Temple at Jerusalem in appreciation of his cordial welcome.[1] But the legend has no basis in fact, for Alexander proceeded to Egypt directly from Tyre by way of Gaza, and visited neither Samaria nor Jerusalem.[2]

The preponderant number of Jews lived outside Judaea—in Babylonia, Persia, and the coastal cities along the Mediterranean—and to gain the confidence and support of the Jews of the diaspora for his campaign against Darius, Alexander showed conspicuous favor to the Jews of Judaea. For one thing, he preferred Jerusalem as the site of the Temple against the desires of Sanballat and the Samaritans who wished to build a temple on Mount Gerizim. For another, he added three important cities of Samaria—Aphaerema, Lydda, and Ramathaim to the territory of Judaea. It was doubtless this benevolence that gave rise to the legend that Alexander visited the Temple at Jerusalem and honored it by offering sacrifices to the God of Israel.

In the division of Alexander's empire after his death in 323, Ptolemy son of Lagus obtained Egypt, Antigonus Phrygia, and Seleucus Babylonia. Ptolemy's ambitions led him to invade Palestine and Phoenicia.[3] He entered Jerusalem in 320, on a

[1] Tal. Yoma 69a.

[2] Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 2.25–26.

[3] Diodorus, 18.43, 73; Appian, *Syrian Wars*, 52. See also E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London, 1927, pp. 23–4. According to Appian Syria (including Palestine) was entrusted to Laomedon by Perdiccas.

Sabbath when the Jews would offer no resistance;[4] but he retired to Egypt on the approach of Antigonus.[5] Antigonus proving the most powerful of the successors, Seleucus and Ptolemy formed a league against him. In 312 they defeated Antigonus' fleet, under his son Demetrius, off Gaza. From being a subordinate to Ptolemy, Seleucus now became the independent ruler of Babylon. The Seleucid kings dated their era from the year 312, which was reckoned as "the year of the Greeks" throughout the East.[6]

In a second division of Alexander's empire, after the battle of Ipsus (301), Syria (including Judaea) fell to Seleucus.[7] But when Seleucus attempted to take possession of his territory he found Judaea already occupied by Ptolemy, and for a long period Palestine remained an unsettled issue between the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt. Seleucus did not surrender the right to Palestine which was granted him by the treaty of 301, while the Ptolemies maintained that Palestine was theirs by right of the earlier pact. In 247–6 Ptolemy Philadelphus was succeeded by his son, Ptolemy III Euergetes. Ptolemy III promptly invaded Coele Syria,[8] but in 242 Seleucus recovered the greater part of it, and two years later he signed a treaty with Ptolemy. Though this war was not fought on Palestinian soil, the Jews must have suffered severely and have found the choice between Egyptians and Syrians difficult.

Polybius tells us that the Syrian populace favored the Ptolemies against the Seleucids,[9] but this was probably not true of the Jews of Palestine, where the people in general and the High Priests in particular sided with the Seleucids.[10] Their attitude is

[4] Josephus, *Ant.* 12. 1.1 (4).

[5] Diodorus, *ibid.*, Bevan, *ibid.*

[6] B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten* I; E. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, London, 1902, I.52.

[7] Diodorus 20.5; Bevan, *History of Egypt* 34–5.

[8] "Hollow Syria" so called by the Greeks from the hollow of the Jordan valley. *Cf.* Justin, 27.1; Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, ch. x.

[9] 5.86: "For the peoples of Coele Syria have always been more attached to that [Ptolemaic] house than to the Seleucidae."

[10] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *The History of the Second Jewish Commonwealth, Prolegomena* 11–12.

easy to understand. From the Restoration down to 301 the Jews of Palestine and those of the diaspora were united and lived under a single rule, first under the Persians and then under Alexander. After the latter's death Palestine and Babylon were combined, at first under Antigonus, later under Seleucus. The Babylonian Jews spoke an Aramaic similar to that of the Palestinian Jews. The Temple in Jerusalem received its main support from the Babylonian and Persian Jews. Palestinian Jews naturally felt a deeper bond of kinship with Babylonian Jewry than with their brethren in Alexandria, who spoke Greek, a language utterly alien to the spirit of the Palestinian Jews. The Temple administration favored the union of the two Jewries under the sole suzerainty of the Seleucids, for if Palestine were united with Egypt under the Ptolemies the Temple would lose considerable income, since in such case the Jews of Babylon would find it difficult to send gifts and make pilgrimages to Jerusalem. Hence in the conflict between Ptolemy III and Seleucus II the High Priest Onias II allied himself with Seleucus.

When Seleucus II defeated Ptolemy in 242, the High Priest Onias II refused to pay Ptolemy his tribute of twenty talents—a relatively small sum, apparently to be paid by the High Priest as a personal tribute. Ptolemy sent a representative to Jerusalem and threatened the High Priest with seizure of the country if he failed to pay the levy.[11] The High Priest persisted in his refusal. His nephew Joseph, son of Tobiah (husband of Onias' sister) reproached him for endangering the country. Joseph as well as his father Tobiah had business connections with the Ptolemaic court and thought it more advisable to side with the Ptolemies. In his view Palestine would benefit more from an alliance with Egypt, which controlled the Mediterranean coast, than from Babylonia, which was far inland. Uncle and nephew approached this problem from different viewpoints, as suggested by their differing interests.

Although the High Priest did not subscribe to his nephew's view, he was willing to permit him to deal with the situation.

[11] Josephus, *Ant.* 12.4.1 (158).

Onias relinquished his leadership (as *prostates*) over the Jews, and even declared himself ready to give up the high priesthood.[12] But the high priesthood could be transmitted legally only in the regular line of succession. Joseph was very probably a priest, but not in the male line of succession to the high priesthood. He therefore assumed civil leadership of the Jewish people but could not assume the office of High Priest. This is the first time in Jewish history after the Restoration that the authority of the High Priest was divided. Previously he had held temporal as well as ecclesiastical power; now only ecclesiastical authority was in the hands of the High Priest, while temporal power was wielded by his nephew Joseph.

Joseph convoked an *ecclesia* (assembly)[13] of the leaders and prevailed upon them to remain loyal to the Ptolemies; he himself proceeded as ambassador to the court of Ptolemy to demonstrate the good will of the Jews. While in Alexandria he became friendly with the court circle, and by bribery sought the post of tax collector of Coele Syria. The money which he required for this enterprise he borrowed from his friends in Samaria.[14] Animosity between Jews and Samaritans did not prevent Joseph from obtaining the necessary funds; commercial transactions often transcend national differences. With this money Joseph was able to bribe members of the Alexandrian court, and received appointment as tax-collector of all Coele Syria. In this position Joseph amassed a large fortune and became one of the wealthiest men of Coele Syria. Jerusalem acquired new importance as the seat of the head tax-collector. Many of the subcollectors and principal men of Coele Syria traveled to Jerusalem, and some even resided in the city. With the advent of Joseph as tax-collector, the life of the Jews underwent a significant change. Previously Jewish life was guided by the spiritual leader—the High Priest; now civil leadership passed to Joseph

[12] *Ibid.*, 163: "Onias . . . said that he was ready to give up the high priesthood if that were possible." *Cf.* also A. Büchler, *Tobiaden und Oniaden*, 1899.

[13] *Ibid.*, 164.

[14] *Ibid.*, 168.

and later to his sons, who became known as the "sons of Tobias."[15]

Joseph had seven sons by his first wife, but he favored the shrewd, energetic and ambitious son of his second marriage, called Hyrcanus who after his father's death succeeded to his position at the Ptolemaic court. Hyrcanus' half-brothers, having always hated him, conspired unsuccessfully to bring about his death. Not all of the brothers are known to us by name, but the three who played a great part in shaping the course of Jewish history of the pre-Hasmonaean period were: Joshua, who Hellenized his name to Jason; Onias, who called himself Menelaus;[16] and Simon.

The Jews in general had no particular social or commercial intercourse with the Ptolemaic court, nor with the Hellenistic cities of Syria. But Joseph and his subordinates were in frequent contact with the Alexandrian palace society and were constantly exposed to the cultural influence of the Greek aristocracy. Through social and economic intercourse the wealthy class became more and more Hellenized. Their language apparently was Greek, their entire mode of life that of the Hellenes.

In 221 Ptolemy III died and was succeeded by his son Ptolemy IV Philopator.[17] Seleucus III had died two years before and was succeeded by Antiochus III. Believing that the death of Ptolemy III offered an opportunity to recover Coele Syria, Antiochus invaded it in 220, and in the spring of 219 conquered its most important cities, as well as those of Transjordania, and won a decisive victory over the Egyptian army. But in 217 the Egyptians crushed Antiochus' army at Raphia,[18] and Coele Syria and Palestine again passed to the Ptolemies. In this conflict, through the influence of Joseph, who was still alive and head tax-collector for the Ptolemaic court, the Jews sided with Ptolemy. Furthermore, the Jewish colony in Egypt had greatly

[15] *Cf.* A. Büchler, *op. cit.*

[16] Who later became a High Priest. *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *op. cit.*

[17] According to Justin, 29.1, he was murdered by his son Ptolemy, afterwards called Philopator, "Father-loving," ironically.

[18] Polybius, 5.86; *cf.* Bevan, *op. cit.* 1.318–20.

increased during the preceding two generations, and this helped turn the Jews of Palestine towards the Ptolemies.[19]

But the defeat of Antiochus did not settle the conflict between the two powers. In a new struggle which broke out between Egypt and Syria the attitude of the Jews again changed, the majority now favoring Antiochus III of Syria against Ptolemy V of Egypt. Joseph son of Tobiah who had been responsible for the pro-Egyptian policy of the Jews had died, and the sons of Joseph sided with Syria since their half-brother and rival Hyrcanus favored the Ptolemies. Onias II's son, the High Priest Simon II known as the Just,[20] likewise sided with Antiochus. Like his father before him, Simon II thought it best for the Jews of Palestine and the Temple to be united with Babylonia. Thus the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine were divided into two factions: one, under the leadership of the High Priest Simon the Just and the sons of Joseph, favored Antiochus; and the other, under the leadership of Hyrcanus, Joseph's successor, favored the Ptolemies. To decide this important issue a *gerousia* (council of elders) was convened.[21] The adherents of Antiochus proved victorious. When Antiochus appeared at the gate of Jerusalem with his army, a deputation of elders, headed by the High Priest Simon the Just, came out to welcome him.[22] Again the tide of fortune turned. In the winter of 201 Scopas, general of the Ptolemaic army, gained a victory over Antiochus and recaptured a number of cities in Palestine. Scopas placed a garrison in Jerusalem, and the Jews who were in sympathy with Antiochus suffered severely. In 199 Antiochus invaded Coele Syria for the third time and won a decisive victory over the Egyptian army in the battle of Panion—a place near the source of the river Jordan.[23] Palestine again reverted to Syria and after having

[19] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *op. cit.*

[20] On Simon the Just, *cf.* S. Zeitlin, *op. cit.*

[21] Josephus, *Ant.* 12.3.3 (138). On the institution of the *gerousia* see commentary 12.6.

[22] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *op. cit.*

[23] Polybius, 16.39.

been under the Egyptian rule almost a century was now lost to the Ptolemies forever.

Antiochus rewarded the Jews for supporting him in his campaign against Ptolemy. In a letter to the governor of Coele Syria and Phoenicia (who was also called Ptolemy), he expressed his appreciation for the help rendered by the Jews and for the splendid reception accorded him by the *gerousia;* he regretted the destruction of the Jewish cities by the hazards of war and promised compensation; he exempted the Jews from paying taxes for three years, and he freed the members of the Synod, priests, scribes, and Temple-singers from paying the poll-tax and crown-tax; he supplied the Jews with timber taken from the forests of Lebanon, free of duty, to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem and the cloisters of the Temple; he contributed money for sacrificial purposes, and permitted those who had fled from the city to return to their homes; he restored to freedom those who had been sold into slavery. In his Edict of Privileges he granted the Jews the right to live according to the laws of their country. Non-Jews were prohibited from entering the Temple under pain of death.[24]

In order to avoid further conflict, Antiochus signed a treaty

[24] Josephus, *Ant.* 12.3, 3 (130). On the question of the authenticity of this document as well as that of Antiochus' letter to Zeuxis, the governor of Lydia, and his decree concerning the Temple in Jerusalem, the opinion of scholars is divided. Some maintain that the letter to Ptolemy was later forged by the Jews of the diaspora (Willrich, *Judaica,* p. 58; Büchler, *op. cit.* p. 43. See also Bevan, *The House of Seleucus,* pp. 296–7); others argue for its genuineness (E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums,* 2. 127 n.; E. Bickermann, *REJ* 1935, pp. 9–35; Tscherikower, *The Jews and the Greeks* [in Hebrew]—pp. 122–27). Both sides present cogent reasons. Those who argue for authenticity overlook one detail: Ptolemy does not mention the High Priest, though he does mention the *gerousia.* But it is well known that the High Priest was the head of the Jewish community, and Simon the Just was the head of the party that favored Antiochus. Why then is he not mentioned? In my opinion the letter cited by Josephus in *Antiquities* is not the one written by Antiochus to Ptolemy. There is no doubt that Antiochus favored the Jews and rewarded them for their support, but this letter was altered by the Jews of the diaspora at a later date to show how the Seleucids favored the Jewish people: see R. Marcus, *Josephus,* vol. 7, (Loeb Classical Library) App. D.

with Ptolemy in 192, and a marriage alliance was arranged between the two royal houses. Cleopatra daughter of Antiochus was given in marriage to Ptolemy V Epiphanes, and the revenue of Coele Syria was assigned to her as dowry. Part of this revenue was retained, however, to defray the cost of the Syrian administration of Coele Syria. But the treaty of 192 did not settle the status of Coele Syria. The Ptolemies still contended that it belonged to them, especially since Coele Syria was given to Cleopatra as a dowry, while the Seleucids insisted that only the revenue was pledged, not the possession of the entire country itself.[25] Thus both empires coveted Palestine and laid claim to it.

Antiochus died five years after he made peace with Ptolemy, and was succeeded by his son Seleucus IV. Seleucus IV undertook no major campaigns, and his reign marked a lull in the constant warfare. In 175 he was assassinated by his chief minister, Heliodorus, who proclaimed Seleucus' infant son king. The murdered king's brother, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, hastened home from Athens. He procured the murder of his nephew and declared himself king.[26] It is of this Antiochus that Daniel (11.21) ominously says: "In time of security shall he come even upon the fattest places of the province, and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor the fathers of his fathers. Spoil and plunder and riches shall he scatter among them. He shall devise his devices against fortresses, but only until the time."

The singular character of Antiochus Epiphanes has been an enigma to historians. Polybius calls him Epimanes, "madman,"[27] and he was so regarded by some of his contemporaries. He conducted himself simply, associated with the common people, and

[25] *Ant.* 12.4 (154); Appian, *Syrian Wars*, 5. According to Polybius 28.20 the Alexandrian court at the time of Ptolemy VI maintained that Coele Syria was transferred to Egypt as a part of the dowry for Cleopatra, while Antiochus asserted that the country was the property of Syria. *Cf.* Dan. 11.17 and see J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, ad. loc.*

[26] See Jerome's Com. on Daniel, 11.21; Diodorus 30; *Cf.* Bevan, *op. cit.* pp. 126–8; Niese, *op. cit.*

[27] 26.1.

often disregarded the usages of royalty so far as to visit public baths frequented by the populace. On the other hand, he was fond of theatrical display and lavish pomp and spent enormous sums in erecting statues and temples. Polybius remarks: "In consequence all respectable men were entirely puzzled about him; some looking upon him as a plain simple man, others as a madman."[28] But the same historian adds that Antiochus was "energetic, daring in design, and worthy of the royal dignity."[29] Diodorus too declares that he was worthy of the kingdom in every respect.[30] Appian relates that his son Antiochus V was surnamed Eupator by the people on account of his father's valor,[31] and that the Roman Senate was overjoyed when they heard of the death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, because he was too spirited and caused the Romans anxiety.[32]

Antiochus had been a hostage in Rome, where he was brought up in a more democratic way of life than he would have been in Syria. When he returned to Athens, after his stay in Rome, he tried to live as a commoner by mingling with the people, but the oriental traditions of the Seleucids persisted and were revealed in his conduct.

When he became king of Syria, after the assassination of his brother Seleucus, he pursued an energetic course in order to build his empire upon a strong foundation. Under the treaty of Apamea after the defeat of Antiochus III by the Romans, the Syrians lost Asia Minor, the most Hellenized portion of their empire.[33] Thereupon the Seleucids directed their foreign policy towards the east. Antiochus Epiphanes had come to learn much of the diplomacy of Rome during his decade as hostage there, and it was this art of diplomacy which he now put to use.

The Hellenistic world west of Syria had either fallen to the

[28] *Ibid.*
[29] 28.18.
[30] Fragments 26.55.
[31] *Syrian Wars* 46.
[32] *Ibid. cf.* also A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, 1913. pp. 245–7.
[33] *Cf.* Bevan, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 8, pp. 497–99.

Romans or was greatly influenced by them, and Antiochus Epiphanes well understood that Rome would eventually extend her conquests east of the Mediterranean also. To prevent Roman incursion he determined to unite Egypt and Syria, the only two remaining independent realms, into a single strong state under Seleucid rule. To accomplish this end he contemplated war on Egypt and the unification of the heterogeneous populations of Syria by a process of Hellenization. As a sincere philhellene he believed that such a process would not only consolidate and strengthen his state but also benefit the people.[34]

Hellenism had always included religion as a part of culture, and Antiochus determined to exploit religion in his design to unite the entire population of Syria. Calling himself *theos epiphanes*, "god manifest," as his famous predecessor Alexander had done, he claimed divine honors. He permitted the worship of other gods, but demanded recognition of the supremacy of Olympian Zeus, whom he himself represented in the flesh. Polytheism, unlike monotheism, has always been tolerant of other religions. Monotheism does not admit the existence of other gods and cannot tolerate their worship. The peoples of Syria generally submitted without opposition. Only from the Jews did Antiochus meet effective resistance. They acknowledged the God of Israel and no other.

When Antiochus had Egypt almost in his grasp he was frustrated by Rome. This embittered him, for he saw the collapse of his scheme to unite Egypt with Syria and preserve independence of Roman rule. But his histrionic arts enabled him to dissemble his hatred of Rome, and he participated with great pomp in the triumphal games at Daphne given in honor of Lucius Aemilius Paullus, conqueror of Macedonia.[35]

THE INTERNAL STRUGGLE IN JUDAEA

During the intervals of war and peace between the Syrians and Egyptians there were, as we have seen, political divisions

[34] *Cf.* Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, 1, ch. 1.

[35] Polybius 28.18.

among various groups in Judaea, some favoring the Syrians, others the Egyptians. Thus in the time of Antiochus III, Hyrcanus, the youngest son of Joseph, was head of the Ptolemaic party, while his cousin, the High Priest Simon the Just, and the other sons of Joseph were leaders of the Seleucid party.

On the death of Simon the Just his son Onias III became High Priest, his priesthood coinciding with the reign of Seleucus IV and the first years of that of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Unlike his father Simon, Onias III forsook the Seleucids, and became a warm adherent of the Ptolemies. During the reign of Antiochus IV, the road between Syria and Jerusalem was no longer safe, so that the Jews of the upper countries could not freely go on pilgrimages to Jerusalem or send gifts for the Temple. On the other hand, a numerous and prosperous Jewish community had developed in Egypt. Onias therefore had reason to believe that with Palestine under Egyptian suzerainty the Temple and its priests would derive greater benefits from the nearer Jewish community.

Besides these political differences between the Judaean factions, there were also ideological conflicts. During the Persian period Judaea was a small colony enjoying religious autonomy. Living in the hills around Jerusalem, the people were engaged solely in agriculture. But the Hellenistic period witnessed radical changes in the economic and social life of the community. Commerce was stimulated by the emergence of Alexandria as the greatest seaport city on the Mediterranean, and Judaea, as a buffer state between the empires of Egypt and Syria, benefited economically, even though it also suffered severely from the wars waged on its soil.

The mingling of Jewish notables in the Egyptian and Syrian courts wrought significant changes in the cultural life of the Jews, particularly of the upper classes. These Hellenized their names and spoke Greek. Attracted by Hellenic culture, they found Judaism too narrow. Many of the Jewish laws seemed obsolete and alien in the glamorous civilization of Hellenism. There were those who voluntarily relinquished their title as

"Jerusalemites" during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and called themselves "Antiochenes."[36] The great masses of the people on the other hand, particularly the farming population, were not at all touched by Hellenism, which they abhorred. They were devoted to the traditions of their forefathers and were ready to sacrifice themselves for the observance of the Jewish laws.[37]

The leaders of the pro-Seleucid Hellenistic group were the sons of Joseph, known as the "sons of Tobias"; they were Simon, Joshua (Jason) and Onias (Menelaus). Their cousin, the High Priest Onias III, favored the Ptolemies.[38] Besides this group rivalry there was individual rivalry as well. On the grounds that they were descendants of the High Priest Simon I, the sons of Joseph even aspired to the office of High Priest. Simon son of Joseph was captain of the Temple,[39] a position of high authority in the hierarchy. A controversy arose between him and his cousin, the High Priest Onias, for the control of the Jerusalem market, which meant domination over the entire economic life of the city. This function had apparently belonged to the High Priests in their capacity as temporal leaders. Simon's father Joseph, when he became tax-collector of Judaea, had wrested some of the temporal power from his uncle, Onias II,[40] but the control of the market still remained essentially in the hands of the High Priest. Simon turned to Seleucus for support against the High Priest Onias III. He informed the Syrian government that Onias had allied himself with his half-brother, Hyrcanus, who was awaiting an opportune moment to side with the Ptolemies openly, and, to substantiate his charges, he further informed the Syrian court that Onias had hidden in the Temple considerable sums of money which had not come from sacrifices.[41] Seleucus sent his chief minister, Heliodorus, to investigate the

[36] II Mac. 4.9.
[37] S. Zeitlin, *op. cit.* p. 33.
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] II Mac. 3.4.
[40] See above p. 5.
[41] II Mac. 3.5–13.

matter. When Heliodorus arrived in Jerusalem he was heartily welcomed by the High Priest, but when he wished to enter the Temple to confiscate the treasury he was refused admittance. Onias informed him that the money in the treasury was deposited by orphans and widows; he admitted, however, that part of it belonged to Hyrcanus, who had been falsely accused by his enemy Simon. Heliodorus entered the Temple nevertheless;[42] but whether he confiscated the monies is uncertain. Simon was banished for the time, and Onias apparently quieted Heliodorus. But the sons of Joseph did not give up their aspirations for the high priesthood.

The issue between Onias and the sons of Joseph was broader than the incumbency of the high priesthood or control of the city market. It was rooted in the perilous choices that the Jews had to make at that time. Onias was eager to perpetuate and propagate Jewish life in accordance with the principles laid down by Ezra. He was zealous that the Torah, the Jewish constitution, be preserved, and was opposed to any assimilation of foreign cultural influences.

Simon and his brothers, on the other hand, the "sons of Tobias," had lost most of their attachment to Judaism, although they were priests and descendants of Simon I, they were thoroughly saturated with Hellenism. They frequented Greek society both at home and abroad, especially during their regular visits to the Egyptian and Syrian courts. In Greek society athletic games were a source of national pride and a mark of social position, and the sons of Joseph were eager to introduce such games into their own country. The Tobias family were the leaders of the new aristocracy of wealth. They had transformed Jerusalem into a prominent city of world commerce, but they were handicapped in their commercial enterprises because Jerusalem did not have the privilege of its own coinage, a right of which cities like Tyre could boast. The sons of Joseph were ready to relinquish the Torah and Judaism to further the economic advancement of the people, and particularly for their own

[42] *Ibid.*

advantage. Their efforts could prove fruitful, they believed, only if Jerusalem had the privileges of a Hellenistic city, including that of coinage. With the aim of achieving for Jerusalem the status of a Hellenistic city, the sons of Joseph planned to establish gymnasia in Jerusalem.[43] They were ready to consider themselves "Antiochenes," and to have Judaea become a part of the empire of Syria, believing that isolation was an economic and cultural handicap.[44]

The assassination of Seleucus and the accession of Antiochus IV gave the sons of Joseph their first opportunity to realize their ambition. In the absence of Onias III, who was on a visit to the king in Antioch, they succeeded in placing his brother Joshua, called Jason, who was more amenable to the viewpoint of the sons of Joseph, in the office of High Priest.[45] Onias III probably fled to Egypt in consequence, and there built the temple in Heliopolis known as the Temple of Onias.[46] According to another source, he was assassinated in Antioch.[47]

When Jason became High Priest in 175–74, he built a gymnasium in Jerusalem, and the Jewish youth and even the priests exposed their nude bodies in the games held there. They wore the Greek *petasus*, or cap of Hermes, and in order not to be recognized as Jews they drew forward the prepuce so that the fact of their circumcision should not be noticed.[48] The Holy City became Hellenized.

However the sons of Joseph found Jason too conservative for their goal of rapid and complete Hellenization, and plotted to obtain the high priesthood for one of their own family. Having already succeeded in one scheme by a coup which violated Jewish custom—the office had always been hereditary—they felt confident they could safely proceed to the final step of supplant-

[43] S. Zeitlin, *op. cit.* p. 24.
[44] *Cf.* I Mac. 1.11.
[45] *Cf.* II Mac. 4.5–11; *Ant.* 12.5, 1 (237–39). See also S. Zeitlin, *op. cit.* pp. 23–4.
[46] *Ibid.* p. 27.
[47] II Mac. 4. 32–34.
[48] I Mac. 1. 12–14; *Ant.* 12.5, 1 (240–1).

ing Jason by one of their own number, also of the family of Simon I. An opportunity offered when Jason as High Priest sent one of the sons of Tobias, Menelaus Onias, the brother of Simon, to King Antiochus, to convey a sum of money to him and to remind him of certain matters that needed attention. But Menelaus, who was as shrewd as his father Joseph, procured the high priesthood for himself by offering the king 300 talents of silver in excess of the amount advanced by Jason, and further told the king that he would himself Hellenize Jerusalem more effectively and completely than Jason had done. It was by such means that Menelaus obtained the high priesthood.[49]

But Jason did not yield to Menelaus supinely, and an open quarrel broke out. Since most of the Jews were of Jason's faction, Menelaus was compelled to leave the city. He did not give up his struggle against Jason, however, but sought help from King Antiochus, soon returned to Jerusalem with a military force furnished him by the king, and launched an intensive campaign for the Hellenization of the Jews by suppressing all who adhered to Judaism.[50]

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AND THE JEWS

The treaty of peace concluded by Antiochus III and Ptolemy V in 192 BCE had gradually lost all its effectiveness. Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus III, who was given in marriage to Ptolemy V to cement that alliance, died in 173.[51] The anti-Seleucid party in the Alexandrian court agitated for the recovery of Coele Syria, and in 171 the two empires went to war for that country.[52] Seizing the initiative, Antiochus marched to Egypt in 171–170, and Ptolemy was compelled to capitulate.[53] On his

[49] II Mac. 4. 23–27.
[50] *Ibid.* 6.
[51] *Cf.* Bevan, *The Cambridge Ancient History* 8. ch. 6; Niese, *op. cit.*
[52] On the question as to how many times Antiochus invaded Egypt see S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit*, as a source for Jewish chronology and history in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, p. 14, n. 35, *Cf.* also App. C.
[53] Polybius 28.19–20.

return from Egypt in the summer of 170,[54] Antiochus invaded Jerusalem, entered the Temple, confiscated much of the gold there, and put many Jews to death.[55]

The peace between Egypt and Syria did not endure, for Antiochus was determined to eliminate Egypt entirely as an independent state and annex it to Syria. In 169 he again marched towards Egypt.[56] Again he was victorious and almost achieved his ambition of annexing Egypt to Syria. His forebears could not have dreamt of such a grandiose prospect, for the Seleucid kings had always been regarded as subordinate to the Ptolemies and Egypt. But as the dream came near to realization, it was shattered by Rome.

After the destruction of Carthage, Rome became a great Mediterranean power, and in the Battle of Pydna (168 BCE) had conquered and annexed Macedonia.[57] It now viewed the proposed annexation of Egypt by Antiochus as a menace to its interests. It sent an embassy under the leadership of Popillius Laenas to Antiochus in Egypt, demanding that he retire from that country. When Antiochus asked for time to take counsel with his friends, Popillius delivered a characteristic ultimatum. He drew a circle around Antiochus and bade him "decide on the spot and not go out of that ring until he had given an answer to the Senate whether he would have peace or war with Rome."[58] Antiochus could only comply. From Egypt Antiochus retreated along the coast of Palestine. Judaea had now become even more important to him. It was a buffer country which would protect him in case of an Egyptian attack, and it provided an outlet to the sea.

Antiochus' discomfiture in Egypt started a rumor in Coele

[54] 143 AS, about the close of the summer 170 BCE: I Mac. 1.20–4, *Cf.* H. F. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* 3 pp. 318–20.

[55] I Mac. 1.20–4.

[56] II Mac. 5.1–8: "Now about this time Antiochus made the second inroad into Egypt." Antiochus IV was in Egypt in the year 169–8 BCE (145 A.S.). *Cf.* Polybius 28.17; 29.23–6. See also Niese, *Geschichte* 3. 174, 230–1; Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 2, p. 172.

[57] Livy, 54; *cf. The Cambridge Ancient History* 8.

[58] Justin, 34.3; Livy, 44.12.

Syria that he had died. When this rumor reached Palestine Jason hastened with an army of a thousand men to attack Jerusalem, and Menelaus took refuge in the citadel. But it became known in Jerusalem that Antiochus was not only alive but marching up the coast of Palestine, Jason fled the city.[59] When Antiochus heard that the Jews were in revolt against him, he marched against Jerusalem, stormed the city, and slaughtered a large number of Jews. He defiled the Temple, dedicated the sanctuary to Zeus Olympius, and prohibited the Jews from keeping the Sabbath. Circumcision of their children he made punishable by death. He burned the books of the Law, settled people of foreign countries in Jerusalem, built a new fortress on Mount Zion, and established a body of royal troops (the "Macedonians") in the city to dominate it.[60]

There can be no doubt that the Hellenistic party in Jerusalem, led by the High Priest Menelaus, deplored the policy of Antiochus. They had thought that they would be able to Hellenize the Jews, make Jerusalem a Greek city, and thus themselves become citizens of the great Syrian Empire, "Antiochenes of the city of Jerusalem." Now their plans were frustrated. The city and country became a colony of Syria, and Menelaus merely a chief gendarme for Antiochus, to help him destroy the city and slaughter the Jews. As it now developed, Menelaus and his adherents were compelled to execute the orders of Antiochus in the Syrian scheme of destroying Judaism.

Those Jews who opposed Antiochus and his hireling Menelaus defied his orders by observing the Sabbath and circumcising their children. When discovered observing their own laws, they were tortured and slain. Out of these repressive measures a burning spirit of revolt was born. A new group, called the Hasidim, the "pious," came into existence. They continued to observe the Jewish law, circumcising their children though the infants might be murdered at their mothers' breasts.[61] A familiar

[59] II Mac. 5.1–8.
[60] I Mac. 1.29; II Mac. 5.11–16.
[61] I Mac. 1.59–68; II Mac. 6.9–11.

story tells of a group of Jews who hid themselves in a cave in order to observe the Sabbath, and who, when discovered by the agents of Antiochus, preferred to be burned alive rather than desecrate the holy day.[62] The loyal Jews met the edicts of Antiochus with the silent scorn of non-resistants. For a while it seemed as if Antiochus had triumphed over the Jews, and Judaism had been defeated by Hellenism. The situation was ominous indeed. The Hellenistic party became the agents of Antiochus and ruthlessly executed his orders against Jews loyal to their religion; the Hasidim were concerned only for their religion, their one purpose being not to transgress the commandments of God. They were not concerned with sovereignty, nor did they think it worth while to resist the Hellenes by force of arms in order to bring about the victory of the Jews over the Syrians and of Judaism over Hellenism. They were the first martyrs in Jewish history.

This passive policy of the Hasidim ultimately developed into active resistance. A priest named Mattathias, a descendant of Joarib,[63] became the leader of a small group who defied the decrees of Antiochus. After the death of Mattathias his sons, under the leadership of their brother Judah who was called Maccabee, continued the struggle for Judaism against Hellenism with even greater energy. Ultimately Simon, the last survivor of the five sons of Mattathias, succeeded in making Judaea an independent state. A segment of the people opposed the policies of the Hasmonaeans and resisted the establishment of Judaea as an independent state. It is the story of this struggle which is told in I Maccabees. We now turn to an analysis of the contents of that book.

II

Analysis of Contents

Chapter I: I Maccabees opens (1–10) with a brief account of the conquests of Alexander the Great, the origin of the Seleucid empire, and the succession of Antiochus Epiphanes. The re-

[62] I Mac. 2.29–37.

[63] See below p. 79.

mainder of the chapter (11–64) pictures the deplorable condition of the Jews, the defilement of the Temple and its dedication to Zeus Olympius, which the author calls "abomination of desolation." Mention is made of those who assisted Antiochus' project of Hellenization and abetted the Syrians in persecuting the Jews.

Chapter II describes the rebellion led by the priest Mattathias and names his five sons: Johanan, Simon, Judah, Eleazar, and Jonathan. Officers of the king bade Mattathias obey the command of the king as an example to all the Jews, and Mattathias openly refused. Before his death he appointed Judah Maccabee leader of the revolt, and Simon his counsellor.

Chapters III–IV relate the story of the revolt. Judah's initial successes are followed by victories over Apollonius and Seron. Antiochus IV then orders Lysias to quell the insurrection, and Judah retires. Judah defeats Ptolemy Nicanor and Gorgias, Lysias' legates. The following year Lysias himself attacks Judaea but is vanquished by Judah. After this victory Judah and his brothers purify the Temple and rededicate the altar. In behalf of the entire Jewish community they declare an eight-day holiday, Hanukkah, beginning with the twenty-fifth day of Kislev, to be celebrated annually.

Chapter V describes victorious wars against neighboring states.

Chapter VI: Before his death Antiochus Epiphanes expresses regret over the persecution of the Jews, and on his deathbed appoints Philip as regent for his young son Antiochus V Eupator. The garrison of the Akra (citadel) is hard pressed by Judah, and the Hellenized Jews appeal to the boy king for help. Lysias espouses their cause and launches a powerful army against Judah. In the ensuing battle the death of Eleazar marks the first casualty in the family of Mattathias. The army of Lysias captures Beth Zur and besieges the Temple itself. Judah's food situation is difficult, for the sabbatical year had caused a shortage. Upon the approach of Philip from Persia, Lysias makes peace with Judah and grants the Jews religious freedom.

Chapter VII: Demetrius son of Seleucus IV, who had been a hostage in Rome, lands in Syria with an army and takes possession of its throne. Antiochus V and Lysias are killed at his command. The Hellenized Jews under the High Priest Alcimus appeal to the new king for help against Judah. Bacchides, with a large force, is assigned to pacify the country and strengthen the position of Alcimus as High Priest. After Bacchides' departure from Jerusalem a fratricidal war begins. The Hellenized group persecutes the followers of Judah, and Judah and his adherents exact vengeance. Alcimus is again forced to appeal for aid to the king, who sends an army led by Nicanor, arch-enemy of the Jews. In the ensuing battle Nicanor is killed, and the day, 13 Adar, is declared a holiday.

Chapter VIII interrupts the story of the revolt with a summary of the treaty between Judah Maccabee and the Roman Senate.

Chapter IX resumes the story of Judah's struggle. When Demetrius hears that Nicanor has been killed, he dispatches a new army under Bacchides, who is joined by the High Priest Alcimus. In the ensuing battle Judah is killed, and on the appeal of his followers, his brother Jonathan assumes leadership. After Judah's death, Johanan, another son of Mattathias, is treacherously seized and slain by a tribe of Nabateans. The surviving brothers, Jonathan and Simon, avenge the crime. Alcimus commands the destruction of the walls of the inner temple but is stricken by apoplexy. Bacchides returns to Syria and Judaea remains quiet for two years. Then the Hellenized group again appeals to Bacchides to destroy Jonathan and his followers. Bacchides again fails, and in a rage kills many of the Hellenized group for bringing him to Judaea, and makes peace with Jonathan and his brother Simon. Jonathan now establishes himself in Michmash, whence he rules over the Jews.

Chapter X introduces Alexander Balas, a new pretender to the throne of Syria. Demetrius, learning of Alexander's claim to be the son of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, courts Jonathan's good will by ordering Jonathan's hostages restored, and author-

izing Jonathan to muster an army as his ally. The fortified posts established in Judaea by Bacchides are abandoned, except for Beth Zur, which is still held by the Hellenized group. Alexander Balas vies with Demetrius, recognizing Jonathan as High Priest over the Jews in a written communication, and naming him "Friend of the King." Demetrius rejoins with another communication granting the Jews all privileges, releasing them from various imposts, and exempting Jerusalem from taxes as a holy city. He annexes to Judaea three northern toparchies which had previously belonged to Samaria, and permits all authority over the Jewish people to be vested in the High Priest. Jonathan distrusts Demetrius' extravagant promises and joins Alexander Balas, who appoints him High Priest. Demetrius is killed in a battle with Alexander, who allies himself with Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt and marries Ptolemy's daughter Cleopatra. Jonathan is invited to the wedding in Ptolemais. King Alexander rejects charges against Jonathan preferred by certain Hellenist Jews, but honors Jonathan and enrolls him among his "First Friends." Demetrius' son and namesake, surnamed Nicator, musters an army against Alexander. Apollonius, governor of Coele Syria, acting on behalf of the young king Demetrius, wars on Jonathan, but Jonathan and his brother Simon hold their ground. In recompense Jonathan is raised by Alexander to the status of "Kinsman."

Chapter XI: Ptolemy marches into Syria to overthrow his son-in-law Alexander. He seeks an alliance with Demetrius II, and gives Demetrius his daughter Cleopatra, whom he had previously given to Alexander. Alexander flees to Arabia, where he is killed by the chieftain Zabdiel; Ptolemy dies three days later. Jonathan attacks the Akra, and on petition of the Hellenized Jews Demetrius orders Jonathan to desist and to appear before him in Ptolemais. In spite of the charges of the Hellenized group, the king receives him with great honors, confirms him as High Priest, and reaffirms all the concessions granted to the Jews by Demetrius I. The Syrian Greeks in Antioch revolt against

Demetrius, who appeals to Jonathan to send his soldiers to suppress the uprising; Jonathan complies.

Tryphon of Apamea, an adjutant of Alexander, exploits the Syrian army's dissatisfaction with Demetrius to declare Antiochus, the young son of Alexander, king; a large part of the Syrian army joins Tryphon. The kingdom is divided between Tryphon, with headquarters in Antioch, and Demetrius, with headquarters in Seleucia. Young Antiochus confers the high priesthood upon Jonathan and names him "Kinsman." Jonathan meets and eventually defeats a portion of Demetrius' army marching on Galilee; the Syrians flee the country.

Chapter XII: Verses 1–23 contain letters dealing with the alliances between Jonathan and the Romans and the Spartans, and also the letters of Areios of Sparta to the High Priest Onias. Verses 24–53 continue the struggle between Jonathan and Demetrius. Tryphon, coveting the throne of Syria, plots the murder of the young king Antiochus and also of Jonathan, whom he entices to Ptolemais. There Jonathan is seized and members of his company are killed. Troops sent to capture his army are forced to retreat. At the request of the Jews Simon assumes leadership.

Chapter XIII: Tryphon offers to release Jonathan in return for a hundred talents of silver and the surrender of two of Simon's sons as hostages. Simon complies, but Tryphon murders Jonathan, kills Antiochus in Syria, and proclaims himself king. Demetrius II accepts Simon's offer of support against Tryphon, and renounces all Syrian claims on Judaea, which becomes independent in 170 AS (144–143 BCE). Thereafter the Jews date their documents according to the era of Simon the High Priest, General and Ruler of the Jews. The garrison in the Akra remains an obstacle to complete independence, but on the twenty-third day of the second month (Iyyar) in 171 AS (142 BCE) Simon's army enters the city "with praise and palm branches and with harps and with cymbals and with hymns and with songs, because a great enemy had been destroyed out of Israel." This day is declared a festival to be celebrated annually.

Chapters XIV–XVI: The last three chapters deal with Simon. While Tryphon and Antiochus VII Sidetes (who declared himself king when his brother Demetrius II was captured by the Persians) contest the throne, Simon governs in tranquillity. His capture of Joppa provides an outlet to the Mediterranean. Rome expresses regret at Jonathan's assassination and renews with Simon as High Priest and Ruler of the Jews the alliance which it had made with his brothers Judah and Jonathan.

A Great Synagogue of Israelites and Priests elects Simon High Priest and Ruler and Prince of the Jews and Priests forever until a true prophet should arise. Antiochus VII prepares to fight Tryphon; he confirms the gains of the Jews and addresses Simon as Prince of the people of Israel. A digression records that Simon's embassy to Rome returned with a pledge of friendship. Simon sends two thousand men to aid Antiochus against Tryphon, but this help is rejected. Antiochus' demand for the return of Joppa, Gazara and the Akra leads to a new conflict between Syrians and Jews; Antiochus' invading army under Cendebaeus is defeated by Simon's two sons, John and Judah.

Simon is treacherously assassinated on 11 Shebat 177 AS (136 BCE) by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who aspires to rule the Jews and appeals to Antiochus VII for support. He is forestalled by John, who reaches Jerusalem in time to be installed as High Priest. Reference is made to "the chronicles of the high priesthood" for John's subsequent career.

III

Authorship, Date, Language

Our ignorance of the name or names of the authors of I Maccabees is not surprising, for the only author of an apocryphal book we do know by name is Ben Sirah. The others either

bear the name of the hero, like the Book of Enoch, or are ascribed to a figure of antiquity, like the Psalms of Solomon. It is clear from his minute knowledge of the country and of historical events that the author of I Maccabees was a contemporary Palestinian. He is a staunch supporter of the strict Judaism promulgated by Ezra. He believes in Providence, yet does not attribute the Hasmonaean victories to miracles, but ascribes them rather to the valor of the Hasmonaeans, their organization and their military skill. He notes their great love of country, their determination to achieve freedom to worship God and their readiness to sacrifice themselves for the attainment of these objectives. There is no hint of the doctrine of life after death. This and the latitudinarian attitude toward profaning the Sabbath in time of war have been taken as evidence of Sadducee leanings.[64] But we must bear in mind that the doctrine of life after death was still new among the Jews. It is found only in Daniel; none of the pentateuchal books then canonical referred to it; and it obtained currency among the Pharisees only after the Hasmonaean period. Our author's view of history is that presented in the historical books of the Bible. As in the time of the Judges, God helps the Jews against their enemies through His chosen instruments. When God chose Saul, Saul was victorious; but when God rejected him and chose David, David was victorious and Saul died in battle. Our author believed that the Hasmonaeans were designated by God to save the Jews from the Syrians, and he therefore ascribes the defeat of certain priests who assembled an army and warred against Jamnia to the fact that they were not of the Hasmonaean family.[65] The statement that Mattathias permitted fighting on the Sabbath day does not indicate Sadducean tendencies; in point of fact the Sadducees were stricter than the Pharisees in observance of the Sabbath. As a historian our author merely recorded events as they occurred. Mattathias permitted warfare on the Sabbath because of the danger of annihilation. He realized the

[64] See Oesterley, *Introduction to I Maccabees*, in Charles, p. 59.
[65] 5.62.

folly of any other course when a thousand Jews, gathered in a cave, refused to resist, but suffered themselves to be burned alive by the Syrians. Mattathias said to his friends: "If all of us do as our brothers have done, and do not fight against the heathen for our lives and our Laws, they will soon destroy us from the face of the earth." The following decision was made: "If any man attack us in battle on the Sabbath day, let us oppose him, that we may not all die as our brothers did in the hiding places."[66] The principle that one might profane one Sabbath in order to keep all the other Sabbaths became a Pharisaic doctrine,[67] and was clearly enunciated by Hillel.[68]

Occasionally the author lapses into error on historical fact. Alexander did not in fact divide his kingdom before his death,[69] and in the Battle of Magnesia Antiochus had fifty-four[70] and not one hundred and twenty elephants,[71] nor do classical authorities know of Antiochus' capture by the Romans.[72] These lapses refer to the earlier period, where our author may have depended on unreliable sources. There is more than a likelihood that the Seleucids, as well as the Ptolemies, in order to strengthen their position maintained that Alexander left a testament which gave them their particular countries, and that our author accepted this fiction as historical truth. Neither do his descriptions of the Romans square with the actual facts.[73] The knowledge of Rome in the Near East was still hazy, and our author accepted such rumors as had penetrated. The historical accuracy of the narrative of his own period, it must be noted, is trustworthy; here he is an objective and veracious historian.

[66] 2.40–1.
[67] *Cf.* Tal. Yoma, 85b.
[68] Tal. Shab. 19a, *cf.* Tosefta Erub. 3.7.
[69] 1.6; *cf.* Commentary *ad loc.*
[70] Livy, 37.39.
[71] Ch. 8.6, *cf.* Grimm, *Das Erste Buch der Maccabäer, ad loc.*
[72] Ch. 8.7.
[73] 8.12–16; *cf.* Commentary *ad loc.*

DATE OF COMPOSITION

It is universally agreed that I Maccabees was compiled near the beginning of the reign of John Hyrcanus (136–5 BCE).[74] The narrative of the quarrels between the Jews and Syrians, like the geographical and topographical allusions, suggest that the author was an eyewitness. He was not only a contemporary of the Hasmonaeans, but his devotion to their house may suggest a personal relationship. His personal familiarity with the history of the period enabled him to dispense with literary sources.

It is to oral misinformation, in fact, that historical errors are due. He tells us, for example,[75] that after Lysias suffered heavy losses in the battle with Judah, he returned to Antioch to gather a new army, whereupon Judah entered Jerusalem and rededicated the Temple. Then the death of Antiochus IV is mentioned.[76] But the rededication of the Temple took place in Kislev 149 AS (December 165 BCE),[77] whereas Antiochus IV had died in October of that year.[78] The death of Antiochus IV is in fact recorded as having occurred *before* the rededication of the Temple in II Maccabees.[79] The error in I Maccabees is to be explained by the fact that the Jews engaged in battle with Lysias were cut off from the outside world. When Lysias heard that Antiochus had died and had appointed Philip regent for his infant son, he thought it advisable to leave the Jews and return to Antioch. Judah Maccabee and his followers did not know that it was the death of Antiochus which impelled Lysias to leave Judaea, and learned the true reason only after Lysias had departed. I Maccabees records events as the Jews believed they had occurred: first, the rededication of the Temple, and then the death of Antiochus. The author either lived through the events or heard them from eyewitnesses. II Maccabees,

[74] *Cf.* Grimm *op. cit. Einleitung;* Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdishen Volks,* 3. pp. 139–41; Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature,* 1945, p. 74.
[75] 4.35–61.
[76] 6.17.
[77] *Cf.* Commentary *ad. loc.*
[78] *Cf.* App. C.
[79] 9.1–29; 10.1–8.

which is an epitome of a larger work by Jason of Cyrene, based on written sources and not firsthand testimony, presents the events in their proper sequence.[80]

The closing sentence of I Maccabees, "The rest of the events of John and his war . . . are written in the chronicles of the high priesthood," suggests that the book was written when the reign of John Hyrcanus was well advanced or even after his death. Even in the latter case it must antedate Pompey's capture of Jerusalem in 63 BCE, for the friendly exchanges between Jews and Romans could not have been included after the Jews had come to suffer so grievously at the hands of the Roman general.[81]

Convincing as the proofs of an early dating of I Maccabees are, there is nevertheless strong evidence, based on terminology, to support a later date, contemporaneous with or subsequent to the destruction of the Second Temple. The expression "God" or "Lord" is avoided, "Heaven" being substituted. Even a biblical citation, such as Psalms 118.1: "Oh give thanks to the Lord for He is good, for His mercy endureth forever," is altered to read: "They sang a song of thanksgiving and gave thanks to Heaven for He is good, for His mercy endureth forever." This and other passages make it evident that the avoidance of the use of the divine name is deliberate. In all the other Apocryphal books, whether written originally in Hebrew or Greek, "God" or "Lord" is freely used.

Furthermore, in I Maccabees alone of the Apocryphal books, the words "Hebrew" and "Jew" are avoided. Judith uses "Hebrew,"[82] and II and III Maccabees use "Jew."[83]

The term used for religion was "Judaism" (4.26; 5.6), which is similar to the expression in the canonical books of Ezra,

[80] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit*, pp. 40–1.

[81] *Cf.* Oesterley's Introduction to *The First Book of Maccabees*, in Charles, p. 60.

[82] 4.24, *cf.* further S. Zeitlin, *The Jews: Race, Nation or Religion*, pp. 17–18.

[83] In IV Mac. the word "Hebrew" was applied to the state (17.9) as well as to the language (12.7; 16.15).

Nehemiah, and Esther, as well as in the Apocryphal Esdras. In the canonical books of the Bible Israel is used with theological connotation—"the God of Israel," "the people of Israel"—but never in the secular sense connoting a people or members of a people. I Maccabees proper, however, uses "Israelites" to designate members of the people of Israel;[84] "Jews" appears only in the quoted documents sent to or written by non-Jews, as in the documents recording the alliance between Judah Maccabee and the Romans.[85] The embassy to Rome addressed the Senate in the name of Judah and his brothers "and the whole people of the Jews." "Jews" is also used in the Senate's reply, as well as in the documents of Sparta[86] and in Demetrius' message.[87]

Now it was only after the destruction of the Temple that the Jews began to call themselves "Israel," while the name "Jew" was current only in transactions with non-Jews.[88] This would indicate that I Maccabees was compiled after the destruction of the Temple when the name "Israel" or "Israelites" supplanted the term "Jews."[89]

We have the term "Jews," however, in Chapter 14, where the copy of the decision of the Great Synagogue is found by which Simon was designated High Priest and Ethnarch. His title is given as High Priest, Captain and Ethnarch of the Jews. This usage is doubtless due to the author's following an authentic copy of the decision, which he probably had before him. There is an old theory that the last three chapters of this book, 14, 15, and 16, are a later accretion.[90] This theory is based on the

[84] *E.g.*, 1.11, 20, 25, 31, 53, 62; 2.16, 42; 3.15, 35; 4.31; 5.3, 9; 6.18; 7.22; 9.21, 51; 10.46; 13.42.

[85] 8.2, 25, 27, 30, 31; 12.3.

[86] 12.6, 21.

[87] 10.25, 33, 34, 36; 11.30, 33.

[88] The word "Judaeans" was employed either in the mouths of gentiles, or when a Jew is represented as speaking to gentiles, *e.g.*, 11, 47, 49, 50, 51.

[89] See further S. Zeitlin, *op. cit.*, 31, n. 85.

[90] Justus von Destinon, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus*, 1882; *cf.* also Thackeray, *Josephus*, *HDB*, Vol. 5, p. 464; Büchler *REJ* 32 pp. 179.99.

fact that Josephus, who makes constant use of I Maccabees, makes no reference to these last three chapters. If we should assume (as we have the right to do) that the last three chapters are an addition not written by the original author, we can understand why the name "Jews," particularly in a document, appears in chapter 14. In general the author of these last three chapters, which also were written in Hebrew, copied the style of the body of the book.

Forgeries, however cleverly devised, unwittingly betray themselves by recent coinages in citing documents which purport to be old and authentic. In chapter 4,[91] for instance, it is related that Judah was at a loss to dispose of the stones of the defiled altar and left them "in a suitable place until a prophet should come to decide." In chapter 9[92] the author says: "There was such great distress in Israel as had not been since prophets had ceased appearing to them." But in chapter 14.41 we read: "The Jews and the priests had agreed that Simon should be their Ruler and High Priest for ever, until a *true* prophet should arise." "Prophet" is not so qualified in the earlier chapters; why is "*true* prophet" used in chapter 14? After prophecy had long fallen silent, many false prophets did arise in the period before the destruction of the Temple. We learn from Matthew that Jesus warned his followers against false messiahs and "false prophets."[93] Josephus also speaks of the activities of false prophets.[94] Writing at a time when there were false prophets, the author of chapter 14 adds the qualification "true." This suggests a date some time in the first century of our era.

There is, to be sure, no animosity towards the Romans, as we might expect in a book written at such a late period; indeed, the Romans are portrayed as allies of the Jews. But we must bear in mind that the Jews were not all opposed to the Romans. Josephus' account, which cannot be lightly dismissed, places

[91] V. 46.
[92] V. 27.
[93] Mat. 24.11; Mark 13.22.
[94] *Jewish War* 2.13.5 (261); 6.5.2. (285–6).

the responsibility for hostility to Rome upon the *Sicarii*. Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai strongly opposed the war against Rome.[95] In the Talmud those who fought against the Romans were called "rebels."[96] After the destruction of the Temple the Romans did not persecute the Jews; Jewish animosity towards Rome really begins with the persecutions of the Emperor Hadrian. Even Rabbi Judah, a disciple of Rabbi Akiba, praised the Romans.[97]

If I Maccabees had been edited after the destruction of the Temple, what could possibly be the purpose of its editor? He clearly wished to stress Roman friendship, and to record the Roman promise to protect the Jews in war and refuse assistance to their enemies. The Greeks, and not the Romans, persecuted the Jews and defiled the Temple.

Another purpose of the author was to demonstrate that the Hasmonaeans were really saviors and died for the freedom of the Jewish people and their religion. In recognition the Great Synagogue assigned the high priesthood to this family. Would this point be stressed after the destruction of the Temple? It might well be, for the Jews hoped to rebuild the Temple, and the incumbency of the high priesthood would be an important matter. After the destruction of the Temple there was rivalry between the priestly succession and the Davidic line,[98] and our author might wish to show categorically that the high priesthood as well as the leadership over the Jews belonged to the Hasmonaean and not the Davidic family. This view was based on the decision of the Great Synagogue which gave Simon and his descendants the leadership over the Jews "until a true prophet should arise." The kingdom belonged to the House of David, but as long as there was no kingdom the leadership was to be vested in the Hasmonaean family.

[95] Tal. Git. 56a; Midrash Lam. 1.

[96] Git. *ibid.*

[97] *Cf.* Tal. Shab. 33b. See further S. Zeitlin, "The Assumption of Moses," *JQR* 1947.

[98] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *Religious and Secular Leadership*, pp. 7–10; *cf.* also V. Aptowitzer, *Parteipolitik der Hasmonäerzeit*, Wien, 1927.

I Maccabees, then, is a compilation of two parts. Chapters 1–13 were written by a contemporary early in the reign of John Hyrcanus, and re-edited after the destruction of the Temple. Chapters 14–16 do not belong to this book, but were written later, perhaps as part of another book. The two portions were combined into one book during the first decade after the destruction of the Temple.

Not only were three chapters added in the redaction, but interpolations and changes were made in the body of the book. That the Testament of Mattathias is such an addition is evident from its omission in Josephus (who gives a different testament) and from the context. In appealing to his sons to continue the fight for their religion against the Syrians, Mattathias cites the examples of Hananiah, Azariah, Mishael and Daniel. The allusions are from the Book of Daniel, which was written early in the period of the Hasmonaeans or some time previously, and was in any event not yet canonized. In speaking of the Jewish heroes and prophets, Ben Sirah[99] does not mention Daniel, who became popular at a much later period. Nor is the phrase "David because of his mercy, inherited the throne of an everlasting kingdom" from the original Testament of Mattathias. The editor wishes to emphasize that the kingdom belongs to the Davidic family only so long as there is one, but not otherwise.

That "God" or "Lord" was in the original and was changed to "Heaven" by the editor is evident from slips in a few examples: 4.10, "Let us cry to Heaven to see if He will have mercy upon us"; 4.55, "And all the people fell on their faces . . . and uttered praises to Heaven *who* had caused them to prosper"; 4.24, "And gave thanks to Heaven for *He* is good."

The statement in the *Halakhot Gedolot*[100] that the Elders of the Schools of Shammai and Hillel wrote or edited *Megillat Bet Hashmonai*[101] may embody a historical fact. Evidently, there

[99] 49.
[100] Composed some time during the eighth century.
[101] P. 615 ed. Hildesheimer.

was a tradition that the Elders edited a work called "The Book of the House of the Hasmonaeans."[102]

The Hebrew text was still extant during the first three or four centuries of our era. Josephus made use of it[103] as did also the early Church Fathers.[104] The author of Josippon[105] as well as the authors of some of the midrashic literature also had access to the Hebrew text.[106]

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE

There can be no doubt that our I Maccabees is a translation from a Hebrew original. Origen (as cited in Eusebius)[107] lists the names of the Biblical books in Greek transliteration, and adds: "Besides this there is the *Maccabaica* which is entitled *Sarbethsabanaiel*." Origen must accordingly have known of I Maccabees with a Hebrew title. Jerome knew that the first book of the Maccabees was written in Hebrew and the second in Greek.[108] There is also internal evidence of a Hebrew original especially where the translator clearly misread or misunderstood his text. In 1.29, for example, we have: "After two years of days the king sent an officer to the cities of Judah to collect tribute." The Hebrew undoubtedly had שר המוסים which the Greek translator read שר המסים and translated as "the officer of taxes,"[109] instead of "the officer of the Mysians"—the Mysians being the guards of Antiochus IV, who sent their captain to Jerusalem with an army. The phrase, "After two years of days" is biblical. Another pertinent example is 10.72: "Because twice your fathers have been put to flight in their own land"; the

[102] *Cf.* A. Harkavy, *Zikron La-Rishonim;* Rapoport, *Bikure Ha-Itim;* L. Ginzberg, *JE* v. 1 art. "Antiochus Scroll."

[103] See below p. 57.

[104] *Cf.* below p. 248.

[105] See below p. 59.

[106] *Cf.* below Commentary 1.7.

[107] *Cf.* Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 6.25; Grimm, *op. cit.* p. xv; Schürer, *op. cit.* p. 141; C. Torrey, *op. cit.* p. 70.

[108] *Machabaeorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi* (*Prologus galeatus to the books of Samuel*).

[109] *Cf.* Wellhausen, *Got. Nachr.* 1925; E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, 2, p. 157.

Hebrew undoubtedly had צבאותיך, "your armies," which the translator misread as אבותיך, "your fathers."[110] In 3.15 we have "And he went up again"; the Hebrew must have had ויאסף, "and he gathered," which the translator misread ויוסף, "and he went up again."[111]

The style is clearly modeled on that of the Bible. The first verse opens with "and," and the same usage continues throughout, as in the historical books of the Bible. Biblical phraseology occurs frequently, for example: 3.3, "he girded on his instruments (weapons) of war" (*cf.* Samuel 8.12); 5.45, "From the small to great"; 2.49, "When the days drew near for Mattathias to die"; 4.24, "They sang . . . and gave thanks to Heaven, for He is good." The Edomites, called sons of Esau in the Bible, are also so named here, and in the same Hebrew form. The form of proper names generally shows that they were transliterated from the Hebrew.

The Greek form of expression is often due to the influence of the Septuagint, which the translator followed slavishly. In 3.71, for example, we have "And many fell wounded"; the Hebrew doubtless had חללים רבים, "many were slain." The Septuagint renders חלל by "wounded man,"[112] and this misled the Greek translator of I Maccabees. "And they took whole stones according to the law" (4.47) λιθους ολοκληρους is the Greek of Deuteronomy 27.6. "The abomination of desolation" (1.54) is the same Greek as in Daniel 12.11.

IV

Historical Value

The principal source for the history of the Hellenistic world up to the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes is the work of Polybius (ca. 204–140 BCE); but only his earlier books are extant,

[110] See Commentary *ad. loc.*
[111] See Commentary *ad. loc.*
[112] *Cf.* LXX Ezek. 31.18; 32.19, 24, and *passim.*

and for the period after Antiochus IV we are dependent on later writers, such as Livy, Appian, and Justin's abridgement of Pompeius Trogus, all of whom drew from Polybius, and all of whom are available to us only in fragmentary form. This leaves I Maccabees as the only source which is at once contemporary and independent of Polybius. Where the accounts of the pagan historians are ambiguous or divergent, the corroborative evidence of I Maccabees is apt to be decisive.

One or two examples will prove instructive. Justin[113] states that Alexander Balas was slain in battle by Demetrius, whereas Diodorus[114] reports that he was defeated and fled to Arabia, where he was assassinated by the Arab chief Zabdiel, who sent his head to Ptolemy. The account in I Maccabees[115] supports Diodorus and is undoubtedly correct. Again, according to Livy[116] Demetrius II was vanquished by Tryphon (Diodotus) and fled to Seleucia. Appian[117] relates that Demetrius II made war against the Parthians and was taken prisoner, and that while the country was without a king, Tryphon (Diodotus) proclaimed Antiochus VI, the infant son of Alexander Balas, king. Justin[118] similarly states that while Demetrius II was in captivity Tryphon seized the opportunity to proclaim Antiochus VI king. I Maccabees' fuller version is as follows: Tryphon, sensing the popular hostility to Demetrius II on account of his great cruelty, proclaimed Antiochus VI, the infant son of Balas, king, and assumed guardianship himself. Demetrius II was defeated and Tryphon ruled in Antioch in the name of Antiochus VI. Demetrius II then went to Persia for the purpose of obtaining help in his war against Tryphon, but was taken captive by the Persians. I Maccabees' statement that Tryphon proclaimed Antiochus king while Demetrius was still in the country is corroborated by Livy. The I Maccabees account is full and correct. Tryphon did

[113] 35.2.
[114] Frag. B. 32.
[115] 11.13–18.
[116] 52.
[117] *The Syrian Wars* 67–8.
[118] 36.1; Livy 52.

not proclaim Antiochus VI king in the absence of any government, but while Demetrius II was still king in Syria. But Tryphon, knowing the hatred of the people for Demetrius II (described as cruel by the classical historians), seized this opportune moment to proclaim the son of Alexander Balas king. The narrative of the wars between Tryphon and Jonathan fully supports the historicity of I Maccabees.

More important is I Maccabees' contribution to the Jewish history of this period, for which it is the only extant source. Here the classical historians are jejune and frequently ill-informed or biased. The first thirteen chapters of I Maccabees cover the history of thirty-six years from 137 AS (177–6 BCE) to 171 AS (142 BCE); chapters 14–16 cover little more than six years, from 172 AS (142–1 BCE) to 177 AS (Shebat, 136 BCE). The original portion, embracing the period from the defilement of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes to the attainment of independence under Simon, presents a rich narrative of the struggle of the Jews against the Syrians, first under the leadership of Mattathias, and then after his death under Judah Maccabee and Mattathias' other sons. The Hasmonaean revolt which originally broke out as resistance to religious persecution developed into a strong national movement for independence. In the beginning the Judaeans fought a guerrilla war against the superior forces of the Syrians. As a result of their heroism and skillful diplomacy an independent Jewish state came into being. The Hasmonaeans exploited the decadence of the Syrian dynasty to realize their own aims. The author is aware that an important factor in winning the early decisive victory was the fact that the Syrian Commander-in-Chief Lysias was compelled to make peace with Judah in order to confront Philip, who had been appointed regent by the deceased Antiochus and was leading an army against him. Lysias told his men that peace must be made with the Jews and that they should be allowed to follow their own laws: "For because of their Laws which we abolished they became angry and did all these things."[119]

[119] 6.59.

Judah Maccabee is portrayed primarily as a warrior. His guerrilla band fought the Syrians and the Jews who sided with them. But he also employed political devices. Sensing Rome's great interest in weakening the Syrian dynasty, he proposed a pact of friendship with the imperial power. This was at the time when Demetrius fled from Rome, where he had been a hostage, and declared himself king in opposition to his cousin Antiochus V. Jonathan and Simon made even greater use of diplomacy wherever possible. Jonathan joined Alexander Balas against Demetrius, and later continued the alliance with Tryphon, who was regent for Antiochus VI, son of Alexander Balas. When Jonathan was treacherously assassinated by Tryphon, Simon made an alliance with Demetrius. As the historian Justin remarks, the Jews were the first people who gained freedom from the Syrians.[120]

Jonathan and Simon continued the policy of alliance with the Romans. The Hasmonaeans realized that the Syrian government was disintegrating and knew that Rome would look with favor on any movement which would provide Rome with an opportunity for intervening in the affairs of the eastern Mediterranean. But the same Rome which helped the Jews to gain their independence subsequently made Judaea her tributary. Not benevolence but self-interest motivated Roman imperial policy. It is all part of the irony of history. The Romans, who made an alliance with Simon and instructed their satellites not to harm the Jews, later destroyed Jewish independence, when Pompey made Judaea a Roman province. Aristobulus, the great-grandson of Simon the Hasmonaean, was taken captive by Gabinius the Roman general and dragged in chains to Rome, and Antigonus, son of Aristobulus and the last ruler of the Hasmonaean dynasty, died an ignominious death by the axe.

Not only are the external relations of the Jews and their struggle for sovereignty described in the book but their internal conflicts are also illuminated. An important segment of the Jewish people was not in sympathy with the Hasmonaeans, but sided with Antiochus for economic and social reasons. Those

[120] 36.3.

who had long absorbed Hellenistic culture were more concerned for the welfare of their class than for their religion. Their economic position and their social prestige would be safeguarded, they thought, if Jerusalem became a Greek *polis* and Judaea remained part of the great Syrian Empire. To give Jerusalem that status they sought the privilege of establishing a gymnasium in it. This group was not destroyed in the victory of Judah Maccabee. During the civil wars between the kings of Syria they even incited the Syrian rulers against the Hasmonaeans. They complained that their sympathy with the Hellenistic kings subjected them to persecution on the part of the Hasmonaeans. Yet not all those who had come under Hellenistic influence fought the Hasmonaeans. Men whose names indicate Hellenization assisted Judah's cause. His emissaries to Rome were called Eupolemus and Jason, and Simon's ambassadors were similarly called Numenius son of Antiochus and Antipater son of Jason. Thus Greek names, and later Roman names, did not always signify hostility to Jewish nationalism or the Jewish religion. One of the greatest sages of that period was called Antigonus; and after the destruction of the Temple, Rabbi Tryphon and others bore Roman names.

V

State Documents: Official Correspondence

A particularly interesting feature of I Maccabees is the inclusion in it of what appear to be verbatim citations of official state correspondence and other important state documents. Ancient historians from Thucydides onwards had placed fictive speeches in the mouths of their protagonists; and in the later literary genre called Greek Romance letters are regularly used at important turning points in the story. Fullest use of official documents and correspondence is made in the so-called Alexander Romance,

which in its present form is some centuries later than I Maccabees, but which goes back in part to earlier sources. In the case of the Alexander Romance the problem of criticism is to determine whether the documents are genuine (wholly or in part) or whether they are fictive. A similar problem confronts us in I Maccabees, and upon its solution depend not only our understanding of important conjunctures in history but also the credit we should assign the entire work as a historical treatise. We proceed then to examine the citations severally, and first the state documents.

I Maccabees 8 presents the text of a treaty of alliance between the Romans and the Jews concluded in the time of Judah Maccabee. Apparent inconsistencies in the document have aroused suspicions of its genuineness.[121] One article, for example, provides that the Jews should not assist any enemy of the Romans with food, arms, money or ships; but the Jews had neither port nor navy at the time.[122] Furthermore, how could an alliance be made between Rome and Judah, who was a rebel, or between Rome and the country of the Jews, which was not yet recognized as an independent state? Again, the Romans are said to have written: "If they again appeal to us against you, we will demand satisfaction for them, and we will make war upon you by land and sea."[123] But Judah was killed in battle against Demetrius' general, and Rome neither declared war against Demetrius nor did it in any other manner assist the Jews. But these objections need not discredit the document entirely. First, it is not actually a treaty of alliance, a *foedus*, between the Romans and the Jews,[124] but rather a declaration of friendship between the Sen-

[121] *Cf.* Niese, "Kritik d. Beiden Makkab.," *Hermes* 35.88; *idem*, *Geschichte der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten* 3. p. 255, n. 1. *Cf.* also E. Meyer, *op. cit.* 2, pp. 246–7; J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, 1914, pp. 250–3; H. Willrich, *Juden und Griechen*, 1895, pp. 70 ff; *idem. Judaica*, 1900, p. 62; E. Schürer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 220–1, n. 32.

[122] *Cf.* Oesterley, *op. cit.* p. 64.

[123] 8.32.

[124] *Cf.* E. Taubler, *Imperium Romanum*, 1.243; K. Neumann "Foedus," Pauly-Wissowa, 7; M. Ginsburg, *Rome et la Judée*, ch. 3, pp. 34–49.

ate and the Jews. A formal alliance would have required the sanction of the Roman people, for the Senate alone was not empowered to conclude alliances. We must remember that the document was composed in Latin, translated into Greek, then translated into Hebrew, and eventually back into Greek. Textual difficulties may well be due to the many retranslations. We must also bear in mind that I Maccabees was edited at a much later time; clauses like the one providing that the Jews should not give aid to the enemies of Rome by "ships" may well have been added by an editor who had later conditions in mind.

Doubts of the document's authenticity are removed by the fact that the Senate had not recognized Demetrius as king. Refusal by Rome to assist Judah was in accordance with her policy. Rome did recognize Timarchus as king of Babylonia,[125] but in his struggle against Demetrius she left him in the lurch. "Friendship" was bestowed on Judah not because the Senate was pro-Judaean, but only to embarrass and weaken Demetrius. Contemporary Roman policy was to harass and confuse the governments of Asia Minor, in order ultimately to absorb them; hence it was that Timarchus was recognized as king and that Judaea was encouraged. Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus clarifies the matter: "When they [the Jews] revolted against Demetrius they were the first people of the East that recovered their liberty by having recourse to the friendship of the Romans, who bestowed, not unwillingly, what was none of their own."[126] Our document, then, may well be genuine. The Roman Senate did send a letter of friendship to Judah Maccabee. Although the Romans had no intention of rendering armed assistance, the Jews were encouraged and thus helped ultimately to regain their independence.

Another declaration of friendship between the Roman Senate and the Jews, at the time of Simon, is found in I Maccabees 15.

[125] Diodorus 31; *cf.* also Commentary *ad loc.*

[126] 36.3. *A Demetrio cum descivissent, amicitia Romanorum petita primi omnium ex Orientalibus libertatem receperunt, facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus.*

This is in the form of a letter from the consul Lucius to Ptolemy, delivered by Numenius, which speaks of the friendship of the Roman people for the Jews and of the embassy sent by the High Priest Simon to Rome with a golden shield weighing a thousand pounds.[127] This document is also recorded by Josephus,[128] who similarly gives the names of Lucius as the Roman Consul and Numenius as the head of the Jewish embassy. But Josephus dates the event in the reign of Hyrcanus II, and many scholars therefore believe that Josephus' record is historical and that the inclusion of the document in I Maccabees is a later interpolation.[129] The name of the consul is by no means conclusive, for there were numerous consuls named Lucius; one of the consuls for 140–139 BCE was Lucius Calpurnius Piso, who may well have been the Lucius of I Maccabees. But the resemblance of Simon's gift to that recorded in Josephus has been regarded as too striking to be accidental,[130] and the authenticity of the account in I Maccabees has therefore been impugned. Closer analysis, however, reveals considerable divergence between the passages in question. Some phrases are different, and some sentences in I Maccabees are not found in Josephus. In I Maccabees the golden shield is said to have weighed a thousand pounds, whereas in *Antiquities* it was allegedly worth fifty thousand gold pieces. We must remember, furthermore, that massive golden shields were a standard form of "gift" from satellite countries to Rome. Diodorus says that in the 155th Olympiad King Ariarathes of Cappadocia presented the Romans with a crown valued at ten thousand pieces of gold.[131] At the same time, according to

[127] 15.21.

[128] 14.8.5 (145–147).

[129] L. Mendelssohn und F. Ritschl, "Nochmals der Römische Senatsbeschluss bei *Josephus Ant.* XIV, 8, 5," *Rhein. Mus.* 1875. *Cf.* Willrich, *op. cit.;* Schürer, *op. cit.* pp. 251–3, n. 22; T. H. Mommsen, "Der Senatsbeschluss bei *Ant.* 14, 8, 5," *Hermes* 9 pp. 281–91; *idem. Röm. Staatsrecht* v. 3 p. 1156; Niese, "Eine Urkunde aus der Makkabäerzeit," Orientalische Studien, *Theodor Nöldeke zum Siebzigsten Geburtstag* 1906, pp. 818–29; C. Torrey, Maccabee (First Book) *EB* 3.2865.

[130] Oesterley *op. cit.*, 65; *Cf.* also Mommsen, *op. cit.*

[131] See Diodorus, Frag. 37.24–5.

this historian, Demetrius sent a crown of the value of ten thousand pieces of gold. Here the resemblance is even closer, but this does not render the historian suspect. According to I Maccabees Lucius was a consul; Josephus terms him a praetor. According to I Maccabees the embassy came from the High Priest Simon and the Jewish people; Josephus adds "and the Elders of the Jewish people." Josephus says that the embassy requested the Romans to send letters to the neighboring kings in order to protect the Jewish country and its ports; but the Jews had no ports after their country was conquered by Pompey.

The document in I Maccabees contains the clause: "If, therefore, any of these pestilent men flee from their country [Judaea] to you [your countries], hand them over to Simon, the High Priest, so that he may punish them in accordance with their Law."[132] Not only is this sentence not found in Josephus, but it demonstrates that the document could only have been drawn up in the time of Simon, when many of the Jews who opposed the Hasmonaeans and their way of life fled to the neighboring countries and intrigued against him. Quite probably the original Latin document had *praevaricatores*[133] "transgressors" which was translated into Hebrew as פריצים and then retranslated into Greek as *loimoi* ("pestilent fellows").[134] *Loimos* also appears in I Maccabees in connection with those who complained to Demetrius against Jonathan for his espousal of Hellenism and his

[132] 15.21.

[133] The word *praevaricator* has the meaning of transgressor; in ecclesiastical Latin it was applied to sinners or apostates. The Vulgate renders Daniel 11.14 by *filii quoque praevaricatorum populi;* the Septuagint rendition is *υἱοὶ τῶν λοιμῶν*. The Greek words *loimos* ("pestilence") came to be applied to a man who was a sinner against the accepted way of life and a rebel. Paul was accused before the Roman governor Philip of being *loimos*, "a pestilent fellow" (Acts 24.5), and a cause of sedition among the Jews of the world.

[134] The right to extradite any Jews who violated the laws of the country was based on the treaty between the Romans and the High Priest Simon. See S. Zeitlin, "The Crucifixion of Jesus Re-Examined," *JQR* (1942), pp. 279–296.

assumption of the high priesthood.[135] The use of *loimoi* in the document shows that it belongs to the time of Simon and marks it as genuine.

What we can gather from I Maccabees about the relations between the Romans and the Jews amounts to this: In 162–161, shortly before his death, Judah Maccabee concluded a treaty of friendship between the Jews and the Romans. In 144–143 Jonathan sent an embassy under the leadership of Numenius son of Antiochus to renew the treaty between the Romans and the Jews. On its return journey this embassy was expected to visit Sparta also. It was received by the Roman Senate and a treaty of friendship was concluded. But in the meanwhile Jonathan was assassinated. With this the original I Maccabees ends. The Addendum says that the news of the death of Jonathan caused grief in Rome and Sparta. Rome's letter of condolence to Simon expressed a desire to renew the treaties of friendship previously made with Judah and Jonathan. In 141 BCE Simon dispatched an embassy to Rome, led by Numenius, with a gift of a gold shield weighing a thousand pounds. Early in 139 Numenius returned, bearing the document of friendship from the Roman Senate and also copies of letters sent by Lucius, the Roman Consul, to the neighboring states, forbidding them to injure the Jewish people and demanding the extradition of any dissenters against Simon who had fled to their countries. Demetrius II was included among the royal addressees of these letters. He was no longer king at the time, however, but a captive of the Persians. The Romans did not recognize Tryphon, and delayed the recognition of Antiochus VI, brother of Demetrius. This was but another instance of the Roman policy of causing confusion in order to weaken the Seleucid dynasty.

The Addendum (chapter 14) contains a document of an entirely different character, dated 18 Ellul, 172 AS (September,

[135] The word *loimoi*, pestilent men, is also found in 15.3 where Antiochus VI, in his letter to Simon the High Priest, speaks of "certain pestilent men (who) have gained mastery over the kingdom of our fathers." He had in mind Tryphon, whom he considered an ordinary rebel since he was not of the Seleucid family.

141 BCE), which was the third year of the High Priest Simon, *Sar am el*, "the Prince of the People of God" or "the Prince of the people of Israel." This document is not from a foreign chancellery but a decree drawn up by a Great Synagogue of the leaders of the Jewish people. It is in the form of a resolution opening as follows: Whereas "Simon, the son of Mattathias of the family of Joarib, and his brothers endangered their lives and withstood their nation's adversaries, so that their sanctuary and the Law might be upheld." And whereas "King Demetrius confirmed him in the high priesthood because of these things, and made him one of his Friends. . . ." Resolved that "Simon should be their Ruler and High Priest for ever, until a true prophet should arise."[136]

This is a revolutionary document and marks a major departure in Jewish history. Previously the high priesthood had been handed down in the family of Onias, which traced its lineage back to Zadok, the first High Priest in Solomon's Temple. The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding the father.[137] The High Priest was also by virtue of his ecclesiastical authority the political leader of the Jewish people, and controlled foreign affairs. However, since Simon did not inherit the high priesthood but was elected to it,[138] he possessed only ecclesiastical authority. Political authority was conferred upon him by a special enactment naming him Prince of the People. Simon possessed ecclesiastical and political power, then, as the result of two separate popular enactments.

Besides these state papers there are letters in I Maccabees, of two kinds: (a) letters written by Jews, and (b) letters written by foreign kings.

[136] 14.29–41.

[137] Josephus relates (12.2.5; 12.6.1) that after the death of Simon (the Just), while his son Onias was still an infant, Eleazar, the brother of Simon, took over the office of High Priest, and that when he died his uncle Manasses became High Priest. After the death of Manasses the high priesthood was assumed by Onias, the son of Simon.

[138] Though he was the descendant of one of the most aristocratic branches of the priesthood—that of Joarib—he was not of the family of Onias. *Cf.* also above p. 19.

Chapter 5 contains a letter addressed to Judah by the Jews of Gilead, who were under enemy attack, petitioning for help. This letter is brief, and we must assume that only the gist of the original, undoubtedly composed in Aramaic, is given.

Chapter 12.1–23, records a letter addressed by Jonathan to the Spartans. The apparent disorder of its introductory verses has aroused suspicions of its genuineness.[139] The opening sentence, which states that Jonathan sent an embassy to Rome, is continued in verse 3 with "they went to Rome, and entering the Senate chamber;" but the intervening verse tells us that Jonathan sent a letter to the Spartans and "other places." Verse 4 then resumes, "They gave them letters to hand to the people in each place, requesting that they be sent on their way to the land of Judah in peace"—which means that the Romans gave the emissaries letters to be delivered to the rulers of various countries en route bespeaking their assistance. Verse 5 adds, "This is the copy of the letter which Jonathan wrote to the Spartans." The copy of the letter then follows.

The authenticity of this letter has been questioned on the ground that we should naturally expect Verse 5 to recount further details regarding the embassy to Rome. But the embassy to Rome, which is paramount, is not mentioned further.[140] Actually, however, there is no abruptness, and hence no reason to doubt the authenticity of the letter to the Spartans. The verses are in the order of events. Verse 1 relates that Jonathan sent an embassy to Rome to renew the old friendship. Verse 2 tells us that letters were given to this embassy to deliver to the Spartans. (Josephus adds[141] that these letters were to be delivered to the Spartans on their homeward journey from the mission to Rome.) Verse 3 records that the embassy went to Rome and informed the Senate that they came from Jonathan and the Jewish people for the purpose of renewing the old friendship. In verse 4 we are told that the Romans gave letters to the

[139] Oesterley, *op. cit., Introduction* 62.
[140] *Cf. ibid.*
[141] *Ant.* 13.5.8 (165).

embassy to be delivered to the rulers en route, asking protection for the embassy on their return. After telling of the embassy to Rome the author proceeds to give the contents of the letter to the Spartans. There is no real disorder.

To the Spartans Jonathan writes that at one time Areios, King of Sparta, sent letters of friendship to the High Priest Onias. (Areios reigned over the Spartans 309–265 BCE, during which period the High Priest was Onias I.) Areios' letter to the High Priest Onias, speaking of friendship between the Spartans and the Jews, then follows. A legend to the effect that the two peoples were racially related had apparently spread throughout the East. Areios' original letter was purported to have been written more than a hundred and fifty years before, and we see how careful the Jews were to preserve historical documents. This letter is rather an argument for the historicity of the other letters than otherwise.

Among the letters addressed to the Jews by foreign governments we have a number sent by pretenders to the Syrian throne. The first mentioned was from Demetrius I.[142] In 153 BCE Alexander Balas was recognized by the Senate as the brother of Laodice, son of Antiochus IV, and thus entitled to the throne of Syria. Demetrius I, knowing that Attalus of Pergamum, Ariarathes of Cappadocia and Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt had concluded an alliance with Alexander Balas against him, courted the good will of Jonathan, who had rebelled against him, and endeavored to arrange for a *modus vivendi* by letter. The text of this letter is not given.

A letter from Alexander Balas, appointing Jonathan High Priest, informing him that he had sent him a purple robe and golden crown and asking for his friendship, is found in 10.18–20. The same chapter informs us that when Demetrius heard that Alexander Balas had asked Jonathan for an alliance of friendship, he too addressed a letter, not to Jonathan, but to the Jewish people. Josephus records that this letter was addressed from "King Demetrius to *Jonathan and* the Jewish nation."

[142] 10.3–6.

But the I Maccabees text is correct. Among the many privileges granted to the Jews in this letter, Demetrius mentions the institution of the high priesthood, but he does not refer to Jonathan. Josephus erred in assuming that even Judah was a high priest.[143] Jonathan was appointed High Priest by Alexander Balas, but Demetrius did not recognize him as such, nor does the letter mention Jonathan by name. Demetrius tried to outbid Alexander Balas and released the Jews from many heavy taxes: Jerusalem was to be holy and free, and three districts from Samaria—Aphaerema, Lydda, and Ramathaim[144]—were to be annexed to Judaea, the city of Ptolemais was to be presented to the Temple as a gift, and finally the Jews were to be allowed to follow their own laws. Though this letter has been acknowledged as genuine in general, certain details have been questioned.[145] To allow Jews to follow their own laws and to declare the city of Jerusalem holy and free would seem to be contradictory to the entire policy of the Seleucids, for it would undermine their authority in Judaea and make it virtually an *imperium in imperio*. But we must remember that Demetrius was in a precarious position. The Antiochenes had risen against him, and a formidable alliance opposed him. He had no choice, and the privileges he granted to the Jews were not in fact in his power to grant; the city of Ptolemais which he gave them was already in the hands of Alexander Balas.

Although Demetrius was more generous than Alexander Balas, our author tells us, Jonathan recalled the sufferings under Demetrius and chose to side with Alexander Balas. More probably he was swayed by Alexander Balas' appointing him High Priest, whereas Demetrius' letter, which gave the High Priest many generous privileges, simply ignored Jonathan himself. Furthermore, Alexander's chances of success were better, al-

[143] *Ant.* 12.10.6 (414); *cf. ibid.* 20.10 (237), where Josephus says that after the death of Alcimus there was no High Priest to succeed him, and that Jonathan was the first High Priest of the family of the Hasmonaeans.

[144] See above p. 2, and *cf.* Commentary *ad loc.*

[145] Oesterley, *ibid. Cf.* also Bevan, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 8, Ch. 16.

though it must be remarked that Jonathan remained loyal even when the fortunes of war turned against Alexander and when his own father-in-law Ptolemy became his arch-enemy. He persevered in his loyalty when Tryphon proclaimed Alexander Balas' young son Antiochus king.

In Chapter 11.30–37 we are told of a letter which Demetrius dispatched to Jonathan and the Jewish people, with a copy to Lasthenes, who was governor over Syria, defining the frontiers of Judaea and also reaffirming the cession of the three districts of Samaria to Judaea. This letter is a succinct summary of the details of the letter written by Demetrius' father, Demetrius I. Of the genuineness of this, as of the previous letter, there can be no doubt.[146] The wording may have been altered by the translator or editor, but the letters are based on genuine originals.

The same chapter, 57–58, contains a letter from the boy king Antiochus VI, conferring the high priesthood upon Jonathan. This is brief and probably a résumé of a longer original.

Chapter 13.36–40, contains a letter addressed by Demetrius II to Simon as High Priest, in which Demetrius acknowledges gifts from the Jewish people, then reaffirms the early privileges granted them, and finally declares them free from Syrian taxation. This letter, too, is undoubtedly genuine. The clause freeing the Jews from paying taxes to the Syrian government was tantamount to a declaration of the independence of Judaea.

In the Addendum (chapter 15.1–4) there is a letter from Antiochus VII to the High Priest Simon, who is given the additional title of Prince of the Jews. This letter, again, is a good example of a résumé of an original letter, adapted by the editor of the Addendum.

VI

The Name of the Book and of Its Hero; Its Chronology

In the manuscripts our book is regularly entitled "Maccabees," and it is so referred to by the Church Fathers; but there

[146] Oesterley, *ibid.*

is reason to think that "Maccabees" may not be its original title.[147] The original of our book was surely Hebrew, and the word Maccabee nowhere occurs in rabbinic literature. We have an alternative title, moreover, by which the book was known to Origen. This is a phrase transliterated from Hebrew in Greek letters, of which the text is somewhat uncertain but which may plausibly be amended to yield "Book of the Hasmonaeans." Other corroborative evidence may be adduced to confirm "Book of the Hasmonaeans" as the original title of our work. "Hasmonaean" itself is not a family name but rather an epithet of dignity, connoting "princes," "lords" or the like.

Of the several suggestions which have been made for the derivation of the word "Maccabee," as an acrostic or as signifying "quencher" or "hammer," the last is probably correct. However, the epithet was not bestowed upon Judah for his prowess as a "hammerer" of Israel's enemies, but rather designated an idiosyncracy of his physical appearance. The shape of Judah's head may have suggested a hammer, and he was called "hammer-head" as others might be called "cotton-top" or "fat-paunch."[148]

Dating in I Maccabees follows the Seleucid era. The Seleucid era began in the summer of 312 BCE, when the Seleucid victory over Demetrius at Gaza established their dynasty. The Seleucid era was followed throughout the East, and is employed in II Maccabees as well as in our book.

But the chronology of I Maccabees is a year later than II Maccabees, a fact which has occasioned some doubt as to the credibility of I Maccabees. Actually there is no discrepancy, for though the Seleucid era was in general use, various peoples reckoned the *beginnings* of years according to their own traditions. I Maccabees was originally written in Palestine, and it was natural that its author should reckon from the Autumn month of Tishri as the beginning of a year. It was furthermore the

[147] For a full discussion of this subject, with documentation, see App. A, below.

[148] For a full discussion of the name Maccabee, see App. B, below.

Jewish practice, in reckoning ages and the like, to count a fraction of a year as a full year. Hence the interval between Summer (the true beginning of the Seleucid era) and the Jewish new year in the Autumn was reckoned as a year, which explains the apparent discrepancy between the chronologies of I and II Maccabees.[149]

VII

Religious Aspects: Hanukkah

I Maccabees is a ringing assertion of the power of faith. It was in defense of religious beliefs and practices that the dangerous and difficult revolt was undertaken. The principal object of the national sovereignty which became the insurgents' goal was to be unmolested in the observance of their ancestral religious laws. Those Judaeans who favored the Hellenists and opposed the Hasmonaeans were looked upon as traitors to religion, and it was in the name of religion that Judah exhorted his followers: "Because it is better for us to die in battle than to look upon the tragedies of our nation and our sanctuary. But whatever be the will of Heaven, thus shall He do" (3.59–60). There is no elaboration of questions of faith, and no reference to a future life. The observance of the law is assumed as a self-evident obligation, particular emphasis being placed upon the sanctity of the Temple and the prohibition of unclean food.

Prayers were a regular practice, and one short specimen of liturgy is recorded. Prayers were recited aloud[150] and were usually accompanied by weeping,[151] prostration,[152] and fasting. Some prayers, reminiscent of Psalms, were preceded by praise of God for His benevolence in times past and by petition for defeat of ene-

[149] For a full discussion of chronology and related matters see App. C, below.

[150] *Cf.* 3.50; 4.40; 5.35.

[151] *Cf.* 4.39; 7.36.

[152] *Cf.* 3.47.

mies.[153] Parts of our Psalter may actually have been composed during the Hasmonaean period; Psalm 30, for example, the Song of Dedication of the House, was probably composed and sung on the occasion of the rededication of the Temple by Judah Maccabee.

To commemorate the rededication Judah and his brothers instituted the festival of Hanukkah. This has been the significance universally attached to the observance of Hanukkah, and it is surely the true origin of the festival. Certain factors, however, suggest a different origin, and it has been maintained in some quarters that Hanukkah was in fact an adaptation of a festival of Dionysus.[154] Josephus, it is observed, calls the occasion not a Festival of Dedication but a Festival of Lights. The twenty-fifth of Kislev, moreover, was the date on which Antiochus defiled the Temple; it seems strange that Judah should choose that same day for a celebration. Lastly, when Moses dedicated the Tabernacle and Solomon the Temple, the celebration lasted only seven days;[155] the eight days of Hanukkah, it is alleged, reflect a pagan celebration of the winter solstice.[156]

But these objections may easily be met. The fact that Josephus' name for the festival differs from that in I Maccabees need cause no surprise, for all Jewish festivals had two names,[157] to correspond to their two-fold character as public and private celebrations. So "Passover," "Pentecost," and "Tabernacles" refer to the public, religious character of those festivals; while the corresponding designations—"Festival of Unleavened Bread," "Festival of First Fruits" and "Festival of Ingathering"—refer to their popular character.[158] We cannot infer that

[153] *Cf.* 4.30–33.

[154] E. Meyer, *op. cit.* 2.209–210; J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, 244–245; R. Kittel, *Die Hellenistische Mysterienreligion und das Alte Testament*, 1924. *Cf.* also J. Morgenstern, "The Chanukah Festival," *HUCA*, v. 21, 1948.

[155] Exodus 40.17; Lev. 8.35, 9.1; I Kings 8.65–66; II Chron. 7.9.

[156] *Cf.* also A. S. Rankin, *The Origins of the Festival of Hannukkah, The Jewish New-Age Festival*, Edinburgh, 1930.

[157] S. Zeitlin, "Hannukkah," *JQR* 1938, 1–36.

[158] See *ibid.*

the rabbis were ignorant of the name "Festival of Unleavened Bread" on the ground that it does not occur in the Talmud;[159a] the Talmud simply preferred the religious designation. So I Maccabees prefers the religious designation "Festival of Dedication" (Hanukkah), and Josephus uses the popular designation "Festival of Lights." Originally Hanukkah was celebrated by carrying lighted torches in the streets; later the kindling of lights in private homes was inaugurated.[159] It is inconceivable, indeed, that the Hasmonaeans who fought so hard to assert Jewish values should have accepted as their own a festival which belonged to the Hellenism they so zealously opposed.

The choice of a date for Hanukkah to coincide with the date of the defilement of the Temple need cause no surprise. Actually Judah might have purified the Temple any time after 23 Heshvan, when Antiochus' stone *Sorega* was pulled down;[160] he purposely waited until the anniversary of the defeat to lend greater brilliance to the celebration of the victory:[161] "At the same time on the same day on which the heathen profaned it, on that very day it was consecrated with songs and harps and lutes and with cymbals."[162] This also explains the coincidence of the date with the Feast of Dionysus, for Antiochus had doubtless chosen that date for dedicating the Temple to Zeus Olympius.

It is true that, according to the precedents of the dedications set by Moses, Solomon and Ezra, we should have expected that the festival would be fixed for seven rather than eight days. But these involved the dedication of *new* structures, not the rededication of an existing sanctuary. Judah therefore followed the closer analogy of King Hezekiah, who celebrated for eight days the purification and rededication of the Temple, which his father Ahaz had defiled.[163]

Another explanation has been offered for the eight-day festival, which may appear plausible but is not altogether acceptable.

[159] *Ibid.*, 9–10. [159a] *Ibid.*, 16, 44a.
[160] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit*, 77.
[161] *Cf. idem.*, "Hanukkah," *JQR* 1938, pp. 5–6.
[162] 4.54.
[163] II Chron. 29.16–17.

It is claimed that the celebration of Hanukkah was originally patterned on Tabernacles and that its character was changed subsequently.[164] The basis for this hypothesis is a letter from the Jews of Jerusalem to the Jews of Egypt recorded in II Maccabees 1.18: "Whereas we are now about to keep the purification of the Temple in the month of Kislev on the five and twentieth day we thought it necessary to certify you thereof that you may also keep the Feast of Tabernacles." But from II Maccabees 10.3–8 it is evident that Hanukkah was a new holiday instituted in commemoration of the rededication of the Temple in 25 Kislev: "Now it so happened that the purification of the sanctuary took place on the very day on which it had been profaned by the heathen, on the twenty-fifth day of the same month, which is Kislev. And they celebrated it for eight days with gladness like the Feast of Tabernacles, remembering how not long before during the Feast of Tabernacles they had been wandering like wild beasts in the mountains and the caves. Wherefore, bearing wands wreathed with leaves and fair palms, they offered hymns of praise to Him who had prepared the purification of his own place. They also passed a decree that the entire Jewish nation should keep these days every year."

What the texts indicate is simply that as the Jews had not been able to celebrate Tabernacles in 165 BCE, because they were harassed by the army of Antiochus, they celebrated it in conjunction with the Festival of Hanukkah. Here too Judah found a precedent in King Hezekiah, who deferred the Festival of Unleavened Bread to the second month.[165] Hezekiah's stated reason for so doing was that the Jews were in a state of uncleanliness in the first month and therefore could not sacrifice the paschal lamb. But the Pentateuch does not prescribe that unleavened bread may not be eaten by persons levitically unclean. King Hezekiah acted on his own initiative, postponing not only

[164] M. Liber, "Hanoucca et Souccot," *REJ* 1912, pp. 20–9; Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'Histoire*, 1867, pp. 62–63. *Cf.* also S. Krauss, "La Fête de Hanoucca," *REJ* 1895, pp. 39–50.

[165] *Cf.* II Chron. 30.2–21; Tal. San. 12.

the slaughter of the paschal lamb but also the entire seven days of the Festival of Unleavened Bread. Following King Hezekiah's example, Judah postponed the Festival of Tabernacles, which could not then be kept in the month of Kislev.

The incondite arrangement of the letter in II Maccabees 1.18 is due to textual corruption. The book of II Maccabees is an epitome of a larger Greek work by Jason of Cyrene. The epitomizer added a proem containing two letters; these were translated into Greek from a Hebrew or possibly Aramaic original. The Greek text is sometimes incoherent, and sometimes contradicts statements in the Bible; Solomon's dedication of the Temple, for example, is said to have lasted eight days,[166] whereas the Bible explicitly says seven.[167] The addition of the simple short Greek word ισα ("like"), which might easily have fallen out, at two points in the letter in question would easily solve the difficulty. Then instead of "Keep the days *of* the Feast of Tabernacles" we should have "Keep the days *like* the Feast of Tabernacles"; and instead of "that you may keep the Feast of Tabernacles," we should have "that you may keep the Feast like Tabernacles." This emendation is corroborated by the Syriac version, and also by the Latin versions, of which M has *sicut tabernaculi*, and P has *tamquam scenophagiae*—both meaning "like Tabernacles."[168]

Another interesting element in the proem is the stress it lays on the miracle of holy fire which came from God to consume the sacrifices on the rededicated altar. The fire had been hidden away by Jeremiah at the destruction of the first Temple. The significance attached to the miracle was that the rededication had universal and not merely local significance. The event was to be celebrated by Jews wherever they lived, in Egypt as well as Jerusalem.[169]

[166] *Cf.* 2.12.
[167] II Chron. 7.9.
[168] *Cf.* also C. Torrey, *ZATW* 1900, pp. 225–37.
[169] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, "Hanukkah," *JQR* 1938, p. 23.

VIII

Literary Affinities: Josephus, Josippon, Megillat Antiochus

JOSEPHUS

Certain later writers who have used I Maccabees are of interest for the light they throw upon that book and upon the history it presents. Of these the most important is Josephus, whose *Antiquities* (12–13) follows the first thirteen chapters of I Maccabees closely. But Josephus never hesitates to elaborate and amplify. Frequently he puts into the mouth of his characters speeches he thought they should have made or he fancied they had made. The original I Maccabees did not contain Mattathias' speech to his sons; the speech cited at 2.50–68 being, as we have seen,[170] an interpolation of the editor. At this conjuncture Josephus supplies a speech of his own, in which Mattathias is made to adjure his sons to preserve the theocratic form of government which is in danger of passing away, and to stress the idea of immortality: "for though our bodies are mortal and subject to death, they can, through the memory of our deeds, attain the heights of immortality."[171]

Elsewhere Josephus changes the tenor of the speeches recorded in I Maccabees. Thus in the latter Judah addresses his men before the battle against the armies of Lysias' generals as follows: "Gird yourselves . . . like brave men. Be ready early in the morning to fight these heathen who have gathered against us to destroy us and our sanctuary, because it is better for us to die in battle than to look upon the tragedies of our nation and our sanctuary. But whatever be the will in Heaven, thus shall He do."[172] In Josephus Judah first admonishes his men to be courageous because they are fighting for their liberty and the wor-

[170] See 32 above.
[171] 12.6, 3 (279–84).
[172] 3.58–60.

ship of God, and then concludes: "Exert yourselves accordingly, bearing in mind that death is the portion even of those who do not fight, and holding firmly to the belief that if you die for such precious causes as liberty, fatherland, laws and piety, you will gain eternal glory."[173]

Certain minor changes are calculated to serve the Greek reader. He uses "God" where I Maccabees is careful to substitute "Heaven." Hebrew months are glossed with their Greek equivalents—Adar by Dystros and Kislev by Apellaios.[174] In the latter case Josephus supplies the Olympiad also, which suggests the use of a supplementary source, for it is unlikely that Josephus himself made the calculation. Similarly, Josephus avoids I Maccabees' use of "sons of Esau,"[175] which might puzzle Greek readers, and employs only "Idumaeans."

Josephus sometimes prefers other historians, particularly Polybius and Diodorus. According to I Maccabees, for example, Ptolemy VI Philometor, the father-in-law of Alexander Balas, brought an army ostensibly to help his son-in-law against Demetrius but in reality to betray his son-in-law and annex Syria to Egypt. Eventually Ptolemy crowned himself king of Asia in Antioch, thus becoming sovereign of both Asia and Egypt.[176] Josephus' version is different: Ptolemy was betrayed by his son-in-law Alexander Balas; he was the object of an attempted assassination in Ptolemais; he accused his son-in-law of engineering the plot; in consequence he took his daughter from Alexander and made an alliance with Demetrius; in Antioch he was proclaimed king by the Antiochenes. Josephus further declares that Ptolemy was compelled to put on two diadems, for Asia and Egypt respectively, but that he determined not to be crowned king of Asia, first because he was not ambitious,[177] and

[173] 12.7, 3 (302–4).
[174] See S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit*, 229–32.
[175] 5.2.
[176] 11.1, 13.
[177] Ptolemy must in fact have been ambitious, for he fought his brother for Cyprus; but he was milder and gentler than his brother (Diodorus, Frag. 36). His marriage of his daughter to Alexander and his alliance

secondly because he did not wish to give offense to the Romans.[178] Obviously Josephus' account derives from sources other than I Maccabees. Since the two are contradictory it is impossible to determine where the truth lies; probably there were divergent accounts from the start, one promulgated by the friends of Ptolemy, and the other by those of Alexander.

I Maccabees attributes the defeat of Joseph and Azariah, who fought Gorgias contrary to Judah's instructions, to the fact that they were not of the family chosen to save Israel.[179] Josephus says simply that Judah had foreseen their defeat if they did not follow his instructions.[180] But I Maccabees is more matter-of-fact when it states that Jonathan sent his embassy to renew friendship with Rome because he saw it was an opportune moment for so doing.[181] Josephus writes that Jonathan did so when he saw that matters were proceeding in his favor by God's providence[182]—an idea not found in I Maccabees.

It is generally agreed that Josephus used the Greek translation of I Maccabees and not the original Hebrew,[183] for he has the same translator's corruptions as are found in I Maccabees. But his deviations, whether superior or inferior to our Greek text, suggest that he had the original Hebrew before him.[184] For

[178] *Ant.* 13.4, 7 (109–114).
[179] *Cf.* 5.62.
[180] 12.8, 6 (352).
[181] 12.1.
[182] 13.5, 8 (163).
[183] Oesterley, *Int.* 6: C. Torrey, *EB.* Art. Macc., p. 2866. Thackeray, "Josephus," *HDB.* vol. 5, p. 464.
[184] See Justus von Destinon, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, 1882. *Cf.* also Torrey, *EB.* III, pp. 2858–9; H. W. Ettelson, *The Integrity of I Maccabees* (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences), pp. 340–341.

---

with Alexander against Demetrius aimed not only at getting rid of Demetrius but also at gaining dominion over Syria, the dream of all Ptolemies. The humiliation of his youth doubtless still rankled, and now it was good fortune to be welcome in Antioch. Only fear of Roman hostility deterred him from annexing Syria to Egypt. Ptolemy Philometor knew that Alexander was not the son of Antiochus but hoped to dominate Syria through him. Nevertheless, this design was apparently frustrated, and he turned against his son-in-law. *Cf.* also A. Bouché-Leclerq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, 1, pp. 338–344.

example, Where I Maccabees (3.15) has "And he [Judah] went up again," Josephus has, "He assembled together."[185] The Greek translator misunderstood a ויאסוף of the original to mean "again"; Josephus interpreted correctly.[186] Again, where I Maccabees has "the country beyond the river," which means either Coele Syria or North Syria, Josephus writes Mesopotamia;[187] the Hebrew had עבר הנהר, which is the Biblical name of Mesopotamia.[188]

Josephus' account follows I Maccabees up to chapter 14. His account of Simon which follows is very brief, and is derived from other sources.

THE HEBREW JOSIPPON AND THE LATIN HEGESIPPUS

The Hebrew Josippon is a free translation of a devoutly Jewish character of Josephus' *Jewish Wars*. For the Hasmonaean period Josippon follows II Maccabees. From II Maccabees it draws the story of the martyrdoms of Eleazar and of the mother with her seven sons; the entire story of Judah Maccabee and the rededication of the Temple; and the miracle of the fire upon the altar. The chronological sequence also is that of II Maccabees. In I Maccabees (and in Josephus) the rededication of the Temple is placed before the death of Antiochus IV; in Josippon it is placed after the death of Antiochus, as it is in II Maccabees.

But though Josippon's main source was II Maccabees, there can be no doubt that it drew on I Maccabees also. The story of Mattathias (which does not occur in II Maccabees) it may have drawn from Josephus, but the testament of Mattathias must come from I Maccabees. Furthermore it gives the number of elephants employed by Antiochus III against the Romans as one hundred and twenty, a number found only in I Maccabees. It is of interest to determine whether Josippon used the Greek

[185] 12.7, 1 (289).
[186] See Perles, *REJ*, 1921, p. 179; R. Marcus, *Ant. ibid.* n. c.
[187] 7.8.
[188] *Cf.* E. Meyer, *op. cit.* 2.242, n. 4.

or Latin or the original Hebrew version. The book was composed some time in the fourth century.[189] The inclusion of the miracle of fire, while the miracle of the oil, which occurs in the Talmud, is omitted, suggests that the Talmud had not yet been completed. Knowledge of Greek and Latin, indicated by use of II Maccabees and the writings of the early Church Fathers, confirms an early date.[190]

But there is evidence that the author of Josippon used I Maccabees in the original Hebrew, for in certain details his account seems to follow the original Hebrew as against the Greek. In the Greek version of I Maccabees we are told that Nicanor threatened to burn the Temple if the priests did not deliver Judah Maccabee to him, and that they stood before the altar and the sanctuary weeping and praying to God.[191] The phrase is ambiguous, for the altar upon which sacrifices were offered stood not before the Sanctuary but before the porch, after which came the doors of the Sanctuary, and finally the Holy of Holies. It was the space between the altar and porch where the priests held forth in prayer; thus Joel 2.17 has "Let the priests and ministers of the Lord weep between the porch and the altar." Now this is actually the version in Josippon, where we read that the priests "went between the porch and the altar." It would therefore seem that a correct Hebrew text was followed here in preference to the less accurate Greek version. Another passage may be cited in corroboration. I Maccabees speaks of Syrian auxiliaries from "the land of *Allophulon*." Throughout the Septuagint (except the Pentateuch and Joshua) *Allophulon* stands for Philistines, and so it does in I Maccabees, which follows Septuagint usage. (Later this sense was obscured, so that the Vulgate renders *Allophulon* literally as *terrae alienigenarum*.) Josephus paraphrases our phrase as "the surrounding territory." But Josippon's parallel passage correctly says "from the Philistines." Since "Philistines" occurs neither in the Greek

[189] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *Josephus on Jesus*, 1931, 52–60.
[190] *Ibid.*
[191] 7.36.

or the Latin versions of I Maccabees nor in Josephus, we may conclude that Josippon must have used the original Hebrew of I Maccabees which contained the word. Finally, at the close of his account of the Hasmonaeans, Josippon refers, for further details, to "The Book of the Hasmonaeans." This, as we have seen,[192] was probably the Hebrew title of our book, and its occurrence in Josippon suggests that the author used the original Hebrew version.

Other later authors who may have used I Maccabees are the Latin Hegesippus[193] and the so-called Slavonic Josephus.[194] Each uses a variety of sources, including the Church Fathers, and contributes little to our knowledge of I Maccabees.

MEGILLAT ANTIOCHUS

The Scroll of Antiochus which was composed in Aramaic, later translated into Hebrew, and eventually (by Saadia Gaon) into Arabic,[195] tells the story of the persecution of the Jews at the time of Antiochus. The victory over the Greeks is ascribed particularly to Mattathias and his son Johanan; Judah is not given a more important role than his brothers. The origin of the Festival of Hanukkah, which is not mentioned by name, is here derived from the Talmudic story of the miracle of the oil: the cruse

[192] See above p. 49.

[193] The Latin *Hegesippus*, compiled some time during the fourth century, is a Christianized version of Josephus' *Jewish Wars* (*Cf.* S. Zeitlin *op. cit.* pp. 52–53). The name Hasmonaeans is not found in *Hegesippus*. Since Mattathias is named in the first chapter, and reference made to his permission to bear arms for defense on the Sabbath, it is clear that the author made use either of *Antiquities* or *I Maccabees*. At 5.22 he ascribes this permission to Maccabee, in contradiction to *Antiquities* and *I Maccabees*, which ascribe it to Mattathias. *Hegesippus* must therefore have drawn from the Church Fathers, probably Tertullian. (*Cf.* n. 204).

[194] The so-called Slavonic Joseph is also a free Christianized version of Josephus' *Jewish Wars*. Mattathias is called "the son of Asmonaean." The martyrs Eleazar and the mother and her seven sons are called "Maccabeans."

[195] See note 102; *cf.* also M. Gaster, *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, 2.3–32. 1883; H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, Philadelphia, 1921, pp. 173; I. Abrahams, *JQR* 1899, pp. 291–99; F. Rosenthal, *JQR*, 1946, pp. 297–302; *Beth La-Midrash*, 1, A. Jellineck.

which would ordinarily suffice for one day lasted for eight days through the blessing of God. The Scroll of Antiochus is not based on I Maccabees, but was composed in Babylonia and embodies various legends current among the Jews there. It was written for synagogue reading during Hanukkah, just as Esther is read on Purim. During the Middle Ages opinions differed as to whether or not a blessing containing the name of God should precede the reading of the Scroll of Antiochus in the synagogue, similar to the practice in reading the Book of Esther.[196]

Portions of a Hebrew manuscript which was asserted to be the original Hebrew Book of the Hasmonaeans were discovered in 1896,[197] but it was subsequently demonstrated that this manuscript was in fact a translation of the Vulgate, and a poor one at that.[198] From Josippon, the author of this fragment derived the statement: "And the rest of the acts of Judah are written in the Book of the Hasmonaeans."

IX

Hasmonaeans and Maccabees in Rabbinic and Patristic Literature

Jewish tradition has always held the Festival of Hanukkah and the house of the Hasmonaeans in high esteem. The festival has been celebrated uninterruptedly from its promulgation, and

[196] *Cf.* Tosefot of Isaiah deTroni to Talmud Suk. 44.

[197] By Dr. Chwolson. See *Mekize Nirdamim*, Vol. 7. A. Schweizer, *Untersuchungen über die Reste eines Hebraischen Textes von Ersten Makkäbaerbuch*, Berlin, 1904.

[198] Romans are called by the Latinized form "Romanim," and not by the rabbinic "Romaioi," which transliterates the Greek form. The influence of the Vulgate is evident in passages which diverge from the Greek: *cf.* Charles Torrey, *JBL* 1903, 51–59. The opening verse, for example—"It came to pass after Alexander, the son of Philip, had utterly smitten (Darius) who ruled first over Greece"—is a poor rendition of the Vulgate "*Et factum est postquam percussit Alexander Philippi macedo, qui primus regnavit in Graecia.*"

rabbinic authorities from the Talmud onwards have spoken in high terms of the Hasmonaeans. The Pentateuchal verse, "Neither will I abhor them" (Num. 8.2), is explained in the Talmud as referring to Mattathias and the Hasmonaeans, who would save the Jews from the Greeks.[199] The Targum of Jonathan interprets II Samuel 2.4, "the bows of the mighty men are broken," as a prophecy that the Hasmonaeans would break the power of the Macedonians. In Song of Songs 6.7, the Targum of Jonathan speaks in glowing terms of Mattathias and the House of the Hasmonaeans. Commenting on Haggai 2.6, Rashi says: " 'Yet once it is a little while and I shall shake the heavens and the earth' is a prophecy to the miracles which were wrought by the Hasmonaeans." Similarly, the prophecy of Zechariah 9.13, "I will stir up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Javan," is taken to refer to the victory of the Hasmonaeans over the Greeks. Nahmanides[200] and Abraham ibn Ezra[201] interpret many passages of the Bible as prophecies of the victories of the Hasmonaeans, and the same general attitude has persisted to modern times.

In view of the high esteem in which Hanukkah and the Hasmonaeans have been held, it has been found strange that there is no Mishna on Hanukkah as there is on Purim; that rabbis in the Talmud could ask "What is Hanukkah?;"[202] that the name Maccabee nowhere occurs in rabbinic literature. But these questions present no serious problem. Obviously there could be no Mishna (literally "second") on laws not found in the Bible; the book of Esther, being canonical, could properly have a Mishna. Tannaim of the first generation after the destruction of the Temple did in fact discuss laws relating to Hanukkah.[203] The rabbis knew the origin of the festival perfectly well, and the implication of their query "What is Hanukkah?" is really, "What has the dedication of the Temple to do

[199] Tal. Meg. 11a.
[200] On Num. 8.2.
[201] On Zec. 9.9, 11.12, 14, 16.
[202] Tal. Sab. 21; *cf.* S. Zeitlin, "Hanukkah," *JQR* 1938, 10–12.
[203] See Zeitlin, *op. cit.*

with kindling of lights?" Their conclusion was that the kindling commemorated the miracle of the oil. Nor is the absence of the name Maccabee in rabbinic literature remarkable. The name was peculiar to Judah alone, and was not borne by the other Hasmonaeans. The rabbis credited the success of the revolt and the purification of the Temple to the entire Hasmonaean family of Mattathias and his sons, and not to one individual among them. The omission of a name peculiar to one individual cannot be taken as evidence of disdain for the group.

The Church, on the other hand, never refers to "Hasmonaeans," but speaks of "Maccabees." In *Adversus Judaeos* 4, Tertullian, for example, says: "In the time of the Maccabees too they died bravely in fighting on the Sabbaths and routed their foreign foes and recalled the law of their fathers to the primitive mode by fighting on the Sabbaths."[204] The reference is clearly to Mattathias, who is nevertheless called a Maccabee.

Judah Maccabee's heroism in defending religion greatly impressed the early Christians, and the death of Eleazar and the martyrdom of the mother and her seven sons became a pattern for martyrs to faith. I Maccabees enjoyed ecclesiastical favor, but was not given canonical authority.[205] It was placed outside the Hebrew canon by Jerome and was omitted from the Old Testament by the early Church Fathers. On the other hand, Augustine speaks of the Books of the Maccabees as canonical: "These books [the Maccabees] are held as canonical, not by the Jews, but by the Church, on account of the extreme and wonderful sufferings of certain martyrs, who before Christ had come

[204] *Nam temporibus Maccabaeorum sabbatis pugnando fortiter fecerunt, et hostes allophylos expugnaverunt, legemque paternam ad pristinum vitae statum pugnando sabbatis revocaverunt.*

[205] Jerome, in *Prologus Galeatus*, enumerates only twenty-two books in the Hebrew canon and adds, *quidquid extra hos est inter apocrypha ponendum. Cf.* Ch. Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature* (Yale Univ. Press), E. Schürer, *op. cit.*, 3, pp. 142–3.

[206] *The City of God*, 18.36: *Non in scripturis sanctis, quae appellantur canonicae, sed in aliis invenitur, in quibus sunt et Macchabaeorum libri, quos non iudaei, sed ecclesia pro canonicis habet propter quorundam martyrum passiones vehementes atque mirabiles. . . .*

in flesh, contended for the law of God even unto death.[206] At the Councils of Florence and Trent the two Books of the Maccabees were declared canonical.[207]

Originally "Book of Maccabees" designated what we know as II Maccabees, and it is difficult to determine when our book came to be called I Maccabees. It was not so called by Tertullian (end of the second and beginning of the third century) in his reference to the story of Mattathias. Hippolytus was apparently the first Church Father to speak of "The First Book of the Maccabees."[208] Origen, on the *Epistle to the Romans*, speaks of Mattathias' zeal for the law of God, "concerning which there is an account in the first book of the Maccabees."[209]

X

Manuscripts and Editions

As was stated before, the Hebrew text of I Maccabees was lost at a very early period and hence no Hebrew manuscripts are extant. However a few passages from the book are found in the Hebrew Josippon.

We have three Greek uncial manuscripts: Codex Sinaiticus, S 4th Century, Codex Alexandrianus, A 5th Century, Codex Venetus, V 8th Century. Besides these there are twenty-six miniscule manuscripts, incomplete, registered by numbers: 19 29 46 55 56 58 62 64 71 74 93 98 106 107 120 130 134 236 243 311 340 381 534 542 728 731. The contention that all of the manuscripts and versions come from one Greek MS[210] is not borne out by a study of the MSS. Some of them are Lucianic

[207] I Maccabees is thus included in the Bible. It is placed in the Vulgate after Malachi; the Protestant Churches include it with the Old Testament Apocrypha.

[208] Commentary on Daniel, 4.3. Hippolytus died *ca.* 240 CE.

[209] VIII, 1, *Sicut Mattathias, de quo in primo libro Machabaeorum scriptum est quia zelatus est in lege Dei.*

[210] *Cf.* C. Torrey, *EB* 3. p. 2867.

while others belong to a different group. The Greek text with variants was published by Holmes and Parsons in the *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum Variis Lectionibus*, 1798–1827 (The Book of Maccabees is in Volume Five). Lately Werner Kappler, in his edition of I Maccabees, collected the readings of all the twenty-nine MSS.

Besides these MSS indirect readings from I Maccabees are found in Books 12 and 13 of *Antiquities* by Josephus, as well as in the writings of the Church Fathers, particularly those of Hippolytus in his Commentary on Daniel.

The chief Latin translation of I Maccabees is the V. It is preserved in two recensions, one in the V, the other in the Codex Sangermanesis. The latter has only the first thirteen chapters. There are two other Latin MSS, Lyon, L of the 9th Century and Bologne, B of the 11th–12th Centuries. The Latin MSS were translated from the Greek. The V is very old and precedes Jerome. Cyprian (3rd Century) used I Maccabees in a Latin translation.[211] The L B in many readings are in disagreement with the Greek S A V but are in agreement with other MSS not of the Lucianic group. The Latin MSS were edited by D. Bruyne and B. Sodar (*Les Anciennes Traductions Latines des Machabées*, Abbaye de Maredsous, 1932).

There are two Syriac recensions of the book. The common version of the Peshitta published in the Paris Polyglot, v. ix, and P. A. Lagarde's edition *Libri Vet. Test. apocryphi Syriace*, 1861, Sy I and the Peshitta MS of Milan, published by Ceriani, *Translatio Syra Pescitto Veteris Testamenti ex codice Ambrosiano*, Milan, 1876–1883. Sy II. These two Syriac recensions were rendered from the Greek but some readings are at variance with the standard Greek translations. They are in agreement with the non-Lucianic group. The readings in a few instances do not correspond with the Greek versions, which appear to have the correct readings.

[211] *Testimonia*, 3.4. *Et verba viri peccatoris ne timueris, quia gloria eius in stercora erit et in vermes. Hodie extolletur et cras non invenietur quoniam conversus est in terram suam ei cogitatio eius peribit.* (Mac. 1.62–3.)

The book was also translated into Ethiopic, Arabic, Armenian and all European languages. It was rendered into Spanish as early as the 12th Century. It was translated into Hebrew by I. Frankel in the 19th Century, *Kethubim Acharonim* (this was from the German), and lately by A. Kahana, Tel Aviv.

The Greek text with variants was edited by Holmes and Parsons, mentioned above. Other editions of the Greek texts, with different readings, are those of Fritsche, *Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti*, Leipzig, 1871, H. B. Sweete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge, 1905, and A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, Stuttgart, 1935. Fritsche constructed a text, quite often arbitrarily. Sweete printed the text of A with various readings from other standard Greek MSS. Rahlfs' text is quite arbitrary but is superior to other editions. The best and most modern edition is that of W. Kappler, *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, Göttingen, 1936.

COMMENTARIES

The book has been translated into modern languages with commentaries. To mention a few: J. D. Michaelis, *Uebersetz. der I Macc. mit Anmerkn.*, 1778; Grimm, *Das erste Buch der Maccabäer.* (Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testamentes) Leipzig, 1853; C. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, Tubingen, 1900; W. Fairweather and J. S. Black, *The Cambridge Bible*, Cambridge, 1908; Oesterley, in the Charles Edition, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913; H. Bévenot, *Die Bliden Makkabäerbücher, Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments.* Bonn. 1931.

TEXT, TRANSLATION, COMMENTARY AND CRITICAL NOTES

ΜΑΚΚΑΒΑΙΩΝ Α

1 Καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ πατάξαι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου Μακεδόνα, ὃς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ γῆς Χεττιιμ, καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὸν Δαρεῖον βασιλέα Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν αντ' αὐτοῦ, πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. [2]καὶ συνεστήσατο πολέμους πολλοὺς καὶ ἐκράτησεν ὀχυρωμάτων καὶ ἔσφαξεν βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς· [3]καὶ διῆλθεν ἕως ἄκρων τῆς γῆς καὶ ἔλαβεν σκῦλα πλήθους ἐθνῶν. καὶ ἡσύχασεν ἡ γῆ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑψώθη, καὶ ἐπήρθη ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ. [4]καὶ συνῆξεν δύναμιν ἰσχυρὰν σφόδρα καὶ ἦρξεν χωρῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τυράννων, καὶ
5 ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ εἰς φόρον. [5]καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι ἀποθνήσκει. [6]καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐνδόξους τοὺς συνεκτρόφους αὐτοῦ ἐκ νεότητος καὶ διεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ἔτι αὐτοῦ ζῶντος.

1 εις γην S
2 της γης>56 58 340
4 τυραννιων 44 71
6 αυτου απο νεοτητος S 74

1. AND IT CAME TO PASS: Hebraism. The familiar opening of the historical books of the Bible. ALEXANDER: The Great 356–323 BCE. CHITTIM: The islands between Asia Minor and Greece, chiefly Cyprus, the principal city of which was Kition, modern Larnaca; *cf.* Jer. 2.10; Ezek. 27.6. The word Chittim is loosely applied to Greece or Rome, in our book to Macedonia, *cf.* below 8.5, and *Ant.* 11.28: "the name Chethim, given by the Hebrews to all islands and to most maritime countries." DARIUS: Third of that name reigned 336–331 BCE, twice defeated by Alexander, first at Issus (Cilicia) in the year 333 and two years later at Gaugamela (Arbela) in Assyria. THE FIRST RULER OVER THE GREEK EMPIRE: V has "who first reigned in Greece, coming out of the land of Cethim, had overthrown Darius, king of the Persians and Medes." This verse is ambiguous and probably corrupt but the meaning is clear. Alexander was the first Greek to rule over Asia.

2. AND SLEW KINGS: The Greek word means specifically "to slay by cutting the throat"; *cf.* II Kings 25.7; Jer. 39.6. Alexander was not cruel to those he defeated, and the phrase is probably rhetorical.

3. TOOK SPOIL: The booty acquired by Alexander after he defeated Darius

THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES

1 And it came to pass after Alexander of Macedon, son of Philip, who came from the land of Chittim, had completely defeated Darius, king of the Persians and the Medes, that he succeeded him as the first ruler over the Greek Empire. [2]He waged many wars, conquered strongholds and slew kings of the earth. [3]He ranged to the ends of the earth and took spoil from a multitude of nations. When the land was at peace before him, he became arrogant, and his heart was uplifted. [4]He levied a very powerful army and ruled over countries and
5 rulers of the heathen, who paid him tribute. [5]Soon afterwards he fell ill, and realized that he was about to die. [6]He summoned his illustrious retainers, who had been reared with him from his youth, and divided his kingdom among them while

was enormous. According to Strabo, 15.3, 9, 180,000 talents, which in our money would amount to over $160,000,000. THE LAND WAS AT PEACE BEFORE HIM: Lit. the land was quiet before him, *i. e.* no one dared to oppose him. HIS HEART WAS UPLIFTED: Heb.; *cf.* Daniel 11.12.

4. A VERY POWERFUL ARMY: According to Arrian, Alexander's army at the peak of the battle of Arbela consisted of about 50,000 men. It was distinguished for quality and organization rather than numbers.

5. FELL ILL: Lit. "Fell upon the bed." Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 27, reports rumors that he was poisoned. Aristotle prepared the potion for Antipater, whose son Cassander (according to others, Iolles) gave it to the king. Plutarch (*Alexander* 26–7) records these rumors but doubts their truth, since they arose five years after Alexander's death. Diodorus (17.12) asserts that Alexander became sick after a drunken bout. Justin (12.14) also states that Antipater initiated the conspiracy against Alexander.

6. DIVIDED HIS KINGDOM: Arrian and Diodorus (*ibid.*) declare that when his generals asked Alexander to whom he was leaving the kingdom, he answered, "To the best." Justin (*ibid.*) says that before his death and already speechless, Alexander gave the ring on his finger to Perdiccas, captain of his bodyguard, thus designating his successor. *Cf.* also Introd. p. 2.

7καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη δώδεκα καὶ ἀπέθανεν. 8καὶ
ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ, ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ αὐτοῦ.
9καὶ ἐπέθεντο πάντες διαδήματα μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν
καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἔτη πολλὰ καὶ ἐπλήθυναν
10 κακὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ. 10καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ αὐτῶν ῥίζα ἁμαρτωλὸς
Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανὴς υἱὸς Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃς ἦν
ὅμηρα ἐν Ῥώμῃ· καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν ἔτει ἑκατοστῷ καὶ
τριακοστῷ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ βασιλείας Ἑλλήνων.

11Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐξῆλθον ἐξ Ισραηλ υἱοὶ παράνομοι
καὶ ἀνέπεισαν πολλοὺς λέγοντες Πορευθῶμεν καὶ διαθώμεθα
διαθήκην μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν κύκλῳ ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἀφ' ἧς ἐχωρίσ-
θημεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, εὗρεν ἡμᾶς κακὰ πολλά. 12καὶ ἠγαθύνθη ὁ
λόγος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν, 13καὶ προεθυμήθησάν τινες ἀπὸ
τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἔδωκεν
αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν ποιῆσαι τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν ἐθνῶν. 14καῖ
ᾠκοδόμησαν γυμνάσιον ἐν Ιεροσολύμοις κατὰ τὰ νόμιμα τῶν
15 ἐθνῶν 15καὶ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίας καὶ ἀπέστησαν
ἀπὸ διαθήκης ἁγίας καὶ ἐζευγίσθησαν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ
ἐπράθησαν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρόν.

16Καὶ ἡτοιμάσθη ἡ βασιλεία ἐνώπιον Ἀντιόχου, καὶ
ὑπέλαβεν βασιλεῦσαι γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὅπως βασιλεύσῃ ἐπὶ
τὰς δύο βασιλείας. 17καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐν ὄχλῳ
βαρεῖ, ἐν ἅρμασιν καὶ ἐλέφασιν καὶ ἐν ἱππεῦσιν καὶ ἐν στόλῳ

---

11 λεγοντας V
13 απο>311
15 ακροβυστιαν A 130 εζευχθησαν S 58 311
17 ελεφαντοις V

---

7. TWELVE YEARS: Arrian says twelve years and eight months; Diodorus, twelve years and seven months. The author of The *Seder Olam Raba* says 12 years; probably he followed I Maccabees.

9. ALL DONNED CROWNS: Only five (Antigonus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Cassander); this was seventeen years after Alexander's death.

10. SINFUL SHOOT: *Cf.* Isa. 11.1. ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES. See Introd. pp. 16–9. SON OF KING ANTIOCHUS: Surnamed 'The Great.' Son of Seleucus II, reigned 223–187 BCE. WHO HAD BEEN A HOSTAGE IN ROME: After his father's defeat at the Battle of Magnesia (190 BCE) Antiochus Epiphanes had been delivered to the Romans as a hostage. IN THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SEVENTH YEAR: Of the Seleucid Era, *i. e.*, 177–176 BCE. See App. C. 3.

11. AT THAT TIME: The Greek has the Hebraism "in those days." MANY

he was still living. [7]Alexander had reigned twelve years before
he died, and [8]his retainers took over, each in his own territory.
[9]They all donned crowns after he died, as did their sons after
them, for many years, and they did much evil on the earth.
10 [10]From them there came forth a sinful shoot, Antiochus
Epiphanes, son of King Antiochus, who had been a hostage
in Rome. He became king in the one hundred and thirty-
seventh year of the Greek kingdom.

[11]At that time there came forth from Israel certain lawless
men who persuaded many, saying, "Let us go and make a
treaty with the heathen around us, because ever since we
separated from them, many evils have come upon us."

[12]The plan seemed good in their eyes, [13]and some of the
people went eagerly to the king, who gave them permission to
perform the rites of the heathen. [14]They built a gymnasium in
Jerusalem in accordance with the customs of the heathen.
15 [15]They also subjected themselves to uncircumcision and stood
aloof from the sacred Law. Thus they joined the heathen,
and sold themselves to do evil.

[16]When, in the judgment of Antiochus, his kingdom was
well established, he seized upon the idea of becoming king of
the land of Egypt, so that he might rule over the two king-
doms. [17]He invaded Egypt with a heavy force, with chariots,

EVILS HAVE COME UPON US: Lit. have found us. Perhaps a reference to the Hellenized Jews' complaints that the Jews suffered economically because of the separation from the Hellenistic states. *Cf.* also Jer. 44.18.

13. SOME OF THE PEOPLE WENT: According to II Mac. (4.7–11) Jason went to Antiochus to ask his permission to register the Jerusalemites as citizens of Antioch. *Cf.* further Introd. pp. 14–5. PERMISSION: Without the king's permission Jason could not succeed in Hellenizing Jerusalem.

14. THEY BUILT A GYMNASIUM: To make Jerusalem a Greek *polis*. A gymnasium with its body of *ephebi* was essential for the status of *polis;* See II Mac. 4.9.

15. SUBJECTED THEMSELVES TO UNCIRCUMCISION: Lit. "they drew forward their prepuce," *i. e.* they covered their circumcision. In Hebrew those who underwent the process were called *meshukim*, in Latin *recutiti*. *Cf.* I Corinthians 7.18.

17. HE INVADED EGYPT: Lit. he entered; in 171–170 BCE. ELEPHANTS: After the Battle of Magnesia, the Romans forbade the Syrian Army the use of elephants. *Cf.* 6.31.

μεγάλῳ [18]καὶ συνεστήσατο πόλεμον πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον βασιλέα
Αἰγύπτου· καὶ ἐνετράπη Πτολεμαῖος ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἔφυγεν, καὶ ἔπεσον τραυματίαι πολλοί. [19]καὶ κατελάβοντο
τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὀχυρὰς ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰ σκῦλα
20 γῆς Αἰγύπτου. [20]καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν Ἀντίοχος μετὰ τὸ πατάξαι
Αἴγυπτον ἐν τῷ ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ τρίτῳ
ἔτει καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ Ισραηλ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Ιεροσόλυμα ἐν
ὄχλῳ βαρεῖ. [21]καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ἁγίασμα ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ
καὶ ἔλαβεν τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν καὶ τὴν λυχνίαν
τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη αὐτῆς [22]καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν
τῆς προθέσεως καὶ τὰ σπονδεῖα καὶ τὰς φιάλας καὶ τὰς
θυΐσκας τας χρυσᾶς καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους
καὶ τὸν κόσμον τὸν χρυσοῦν τὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ναοῦ
καὶ ἐλέπισεν πάντα· [23]καὶ ἔλαβεν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον
καὶ τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἐπιθυμητὰ καὶ ἔλαβεν τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς
ἀποκρύφους, οὓς εὗρεν· [24]καὶ λαβὼν πάντα ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν
γῆν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐποίησεν φονοκτονίαν καὶ ἐλάλησεν ὑπερη-
25 φανίαν μεγάλην. [25]καὶ ἐγένετο πένθος μέγα ἐπὶ Ισραηλ ἐν
παντὶ τόπῳ αὐτῶν. [26]καὶ ἐστέναξαν ἄρχοντες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι,
παρθένοι καὶ νεανίσκοι ἠσθένησαν, καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν γυναικῶν
ἠλλοιώθη. [27]πᾶς νυμφίος ἀνέλαβεν θρῆνον, καὶ καθημένη ἐν
παστῷ ἐπένθει. [28]καὶ ἐσείσθη ἡ γῆ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας
αὐτήν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκος Ιακωβ ἐνεδύσατο αἰσχύνην.

[29]Μετὰ δύο ἔτη ἡμερῶν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄρχοντα
φορολογίας εἰς τὰς πόλεις Ιουδα, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ
30 ἐν ὄχλῳ βαρεῖ. [30]καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς λόγους εἰρηνικοὺς ἐν

---

18 τραυματιαι *trucidati* B
20 και επι ιεροσολυμ 311 46
22 φιαλας]+και τα τρυβλια 46 55
24 απηλθεν] εισηνεγκεν V εαυτου 46 55
25 εν παντι τοπω αυτων>71
27 εγενετο εν πενθει 106 340

---

18. PTOLEMY. VI, Philometor. FLED: Ptolemy on the advice of Eulaeus the eunuch made for asylum in Samothrace but was intercepted by Antiochus. *Cf.* Polyb. 28.21. MANY WERE SLAIN: Lit. "Many fell wounded." See Introd. pp. 33–4.

20. ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-THIRD: Summer of 170 BCE.

22. THE CURTAIN: *Cf.* LXX Ex. 26.31. It was made of fine linen and scarlet, and separated the Holy of Holies from the sanctuary.

24. CARRIED THEM AWAY: The text has "He went away." *Cf.* critical note.

elephants and cavalry, together with a great fleet. [18]He waged
war against Ptolemy, king of Egypt. Ptolemy turned back
from before him and fled, while many were slain. [19]They
captured the fortified cities in the land of Egypt; and he
despoiled the land of Egypt.
20 [20]After smiting Egypt, in the one hundred and forty-third
year, Antiochus turned back, went up against Israel and
entered Jerusalem with a great army. [21]He entered the Tem-
ple in his arrogance, and took the golden altar, the lamp for
the light and all its equipment, [22]the table of the show-bread,
the cups, the bowls and the golden censers, the curtain, the
crowns; and the golden adornment on the front of the sanc-
tuary he stripped off entirely. [23]He seized the silver, the gold,
and the precious vessels; he also took the hidden treasures
which he found. [24]Taking them all he carried them away to
his own country. He massacred people and spoke most
arrogantly.

25 [25]"And great was the sadness in Israel, everywhere;
[26]Both rulers and elders groaned;
Maidens and young men languished,
[27]The beauty of the women was altered.
Every bridegroom took up lamentation,
And she that sat in a bridal-chamber mourned.
[28]Shaken was the earth over those who dwelt therein,
And the whole house of Jacob was clothed with shame."

[29]After two years, the king sent the officer of the Mysians
to the cities of Judah, and entered Jerusalem with a strong
30 force. [30]He spoke peaceful words to them craftily, and they

29. AFTER TWO YEARS: The text has the Hebraism, "After two years of days." The time was Summer 168 BCE, after Antiochus's victory over Ptolemy in Egypt. THE OFFICER OF THE MYSIANS: Apollonius. The text has "the officer of taxes." See Introd. p. 33.

30. SUDDENLY: On the Sabbath. *Cf.* II Mac. 5.25. DESTROYING MANY PEOPLE OF ISRAEL: Nothing is said of the struggle between the High Priests Jason and Menelaus, nor of the revolt of the Jews against Menelaus (a rumor of Antiochus's death in Egypt having spread abroad in Jerusalem) which provoked the fury of Antiochus against them. See further Introd.

δόλῳ, καὶ ἐνεπίστευσαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξάπινα καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὴν πληγὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἀπώλεσεν λαὸν πολὺν ἐξ Ισραηλ. 31καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰ σκῦλα τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐνέπρησεν αὐτὴν πυρὶ καὶ καθεῖλεν τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ τείχη κύκλῳ. 32καὶ ᾐχμαλώτισαν τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα, καὶ τὰ κτήνη ἐκληρονόμησαν. 33καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ τείχει μεγάλῳ καὶ ὀχυρῷ, πύργοις ὀχυροῖς, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς εἰς ἄκραν. 34καὶ ἔθηκαν ἐκεῖ ἔθνος ἁμαρτωλόν, ἄνδρας παρανόμους, καὶ ἐνίσχυσαν ἐν αὐτῇ. 35καὶ παρέθεντο ὅπλα καὶ τροφὴν καὶ συναγαγόντες τὰ σκῦλα Ιερουσαλημ ἀπέθεντο ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς μεγάλην παγίδα. 36καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς ἔνεδρον τῷ ἁγιάσματι καὶ εἰς διάβολον πονηρὸν τῷ Ισραηλ διὰ παντός. 37καὶ ἐξέχεαν αἷμα ἀθῷον κύκλῳ τοῦ ἁγιάσματος καὶ ἐμόλυναν τὸ ἁγίασμα. 38καὶ ἔφυγον οἱ κάτοικοι Ιερουσαλημ δι' αὐτούς, καὶ ἐγένετο κατοικία ἀλλοτρίων· καὶ ἐγένετο ἀλλοτρία τοῖς γενήμασιν αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἐγκατέλιπον αὐτήν. 39τὸ ἁγίασμα αὐτῆς ἠρημώθη ὡς ἔρημος, αἱ ἑορταὶ αὐτῆς ἐστράφησαν εἰς πένθος, τὰ σάββατα αὐτῆς εἰς ὀνειδισμόν, ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῆς εἰς ἐξουδένωσιν. 40κατὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῆς ἐπληθύνθη ἡ ἀτιμία αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ ὕψος αὐτῆς ἐστράφη εἰς πένθος.

41Καὶ ἔγραψεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πάσῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ εἶναι πάντας εἰς λαὸν ἕνα 42καὶ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἕκαστον τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐπεδέξαντο πάντα τὰ ἔθνη κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως. 43καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπὸ Ισραηλ εὐδόκησαν τῇ λατρείᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔθυσαν τοῖς εἰδώλοις καὶ ἐβεβήλωσαν τὸ σάββατον.

---

31 *ενεπυρισεν* A
33 *οχυρω*] *ισχυρω* 58
37 *αγιασματος*] *θυσιαστηριου* 19
38 *κατοικοι*] *κατοικουντες* 19 93 311
εγενοντο 311
40 *επληθυνθη ατιμασμος* A *εγενηθη η ατιμα* 58
41 *βασιλευς*+*αντιοχς* 19 311

---

33. CITY OF DAVID: The stronghold of Zion, *cf.* II Sam. 5.7; Neh. 7.2.
34. SINFUL PEOPLE: From Isaiah 1.4. LXX translates *goy* by *ethnos*, 'nation', and *am* by *laos*, 'people', when the reference is to the Jews; but when the reference is to the heathen, *am* is rendered by *ethnos*. In the Church Fathers *ethnos* is used of non-Christians and non-Jews. In the Talmud *goy* connotes heathen; in the Bible *goy* and *am* refer to Jews and non-Jews alike. Hence we may assume that "sinful people" refers to the

trusted him. Then he fell suddenly upon the city, and dealt it a great blow, destroying many people of Israel. [31]He despoiled the city, burnt it with fire, and razed its houses and its surrounding walls. [32]They led the women and children captive, and took possession of the cattle. [33]They fortified the city of David with a high and strong wall with mighty towers, and it became their citadel. [34]They put sinful people therein, men who were transgressors against the law; and they entrenched
35 themselves in it. [35]They stored up arms and provisions, and after collecting together the spoils of Jerusalem, they laid them up there. They became a great menace, [36]for it served as an ambuscade against the sanctuary, an evil adversary against Israel continually.

[37]They shed innocent blood around the altar,
And polluted the sanctuary.
[38]Because of them the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled,
She became a dwelling place of foreigners,
And foreign she became to her own brood,
And her children forsook her.
[39]Her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness,
Her feasts were turned into sadness,
Her sabbaths into a reproach,
Her honor into contempt.
40 [40]As great as had been her glory,
By so much was her dishonor increased.
And her high renown was turned into sadness.

[41]Then the king ordered all in his kingdom to become one people, [42]and that everyone should forsake his own laws. All the heathen acquiesced in the decree of the king. [43]Even many from Israel consented to his worship and sacrificed to

---

irreligious Jews who fortified themselves in the citadel.
36. FOR IT: The citadel.
37. SHED INNOCENT BLOOD: *Cf.* Ps. 79.3 THE ALTAR: The text has sanctuary, see critical note. POLLUTED THE SANCTUARY: *Cf.* Ps. *ibid.*
38. A DWELLING PLACE OF FOREIGNERS: *Cf.* Lam. 5.2.
41. BECOME ONE PEOPLE: *I. e.*, follow the Hellenistic way of life.

44καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς βιβλία ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλων εἰς
Ιερουσαλημ καὶ τὰς πόλεις Ιουδα πορευθῆναι ὀπίσω νομίμων
45 ἀλλοτρίων τῆς γῆς 45καὶ κωλῦσαι ὁλοκαυτώματα καὶ θυσίαν
καὶ σπονδὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγιάσματος καὶ βεβηλῶσαι σάββατα
καὶ ἑορτὰς 46καὶ μιᾶναι ἁγίασμα καὶ ἁγίους, 47οἰκοδομῆσαι
βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένη καὶ εἰδώλια καὶ θύειν ὕεια καὶ κτήνη
κοινὰ 48καὶ ἀφιέναι τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπεριτμήτους βδελύξαι
τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐν παντὶ ἀκαθάρτῳ καὶ βεβηλώσει 49ὥστε
ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἀλλάξαι πάντα τὰ δικαιώματα.
50 50καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ποιήσῃ κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀπο-
θανεῖται. 51κατὰ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἔγραψεν πάσῃ
τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐπισκόπους ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν
λαὸν καὶ ἐνετείλατο ταῖς πόλεσιν Ιουδα θυσιάζειν κατὰ πόλιν
καὶ πόλιν. 52καὶ συνηθροίσθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ πολλοὶ πρὸς
αὐτούς, πᾶς ὁ ἐγκαταλείπων τὸν νόμον, καὶ ἐποίησαν κακὰ
ἐν τῇ γῇ 53καὶ ἔθεντο τὸν Ισραηλ ἐν κρύφοις ἐν παντὶ φυγα-
δευτηρίῳ αὐτῶν. 54καὶ τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ Χασελευ τῷ
πέμπτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει ᾠκοδόμησεν
βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον. καὶ ἐν πόλεσιν
55 Ιουδα κύκλῳ ᾠκοδόμησαν βωμούς· 55καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θυρῶν τῶν
οἰκιῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἐθυμίων. 56καὶ τὰ βιβλία τοῦ
νόμου, ἃ εὗρον, ἐνεπύρισαν ἐν πυρὶ κατασχίσαντες. 57καὶ
ὅπου εὑρίσκετο παρά τινι βιβλίον διαθήκης, καὶ εἴ τις
συνευδόκει τῷ νόμῳ, τὸ σύγκριμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐθανάτου
αὐτόν. 58ἐν ἰσχύι αὐτῶν ἐποίουν τῷ Ισραηλ τοῖς εὑρισκομένοις

47 κοινα] πολλα S
49 αλλαξασθαι S παντα>L
50 το ρημα του βασιλεως A
51 κατα πολιν κατα χωραν 340
53 κρυφιοις A S αποκρυφοις 340
54 πεντεκαιδεκατη] πεμπτη και εικαδι Sy και εκατοστω>A
58 εν ταις πολεσι>62

44. BY MESSENGERS: The Greek reproduces the Hebraism "by the hand of." CUSTOMS FOREIGN TO THE LAND: The usages of the gentiles; *Cf.* V, *legem gentium terrae.*

46. AND THE HOLY ONES: *I. e.*, the priests. *Cf.* Num. 16.5; II Chron. 26.18. V has *sanctum populum Israel.*

47. SACRIFICE SWINE'S FLESH: Swine were sacred to Astarte and important in the cults of Greece and Asia Minor; *cf.* Herodotus 2.47–48; Strabo 9.17. According to Josephus, *Ant.* 12.5, 4 (253) Antiochus built a pagan altar and sacrificed a swine. *Cf.* Diodorus book 34.

idols and profaned the Sabbath. 44The king also sent letters
by messengers to Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, com-
45 manding them to follow customs foreign to the land, 45to
withhold burnt offerings and sacrifices, and drink offerings
from the sanctuary, to profane the Sabbaths and festivals,
46to pollute the sanctuary and the holy ones, 47to build high
places, and sacred groves and idols, to sacrifice swine's flesh
and unclean cattle, 48to leave their sons uncircumcised, and
to defile themselves with every kind of uncleanness and pro-
fanation, 49so that they might forget the Law and change all
50 the ordinances. 50Whoever would not obey the order of the
king was to die.

51In this manner he wrote to all his kingdom, and appointed
overseers over the people and enjoined the cities of Judah
to offer sacrifices in each and every city. 52Many of the
people, who were ready to forsake the Law, joined them and
did evil in the land, 53and forced Israel into all the secret
hiding-places of fugitives.

54On the twenty-fifth day of Kislev in the one hundred and
forty-sixth year, he erected an abomination of desolation
upon the altar, and in the surrounding cities of Judah they
55 erected altars. 55They burned incense also at the doors of the
houses and in the streets. 56The Books of the Law which they
found, they tore into pieces and burned. 57Wherever a book
of the covenant was found in anyone's possession, or if any-
one respected the Law, the decree of the king imposed the
sentence of death upon him. 58Month after month they dealt

48. THEMSELVES: Lit. defile their souls. *Cf.* Lev. 11.43.
52. READY TO FORSAKE THE LAW: V has *qui dereliquerant legem domini.*
53. HIDING PLACES OF FUGITIVES: V has *in absconditis fugitivorum locis.*
54. ON THE TWENTY-FIFTH DAY: So Peshitta. The Greek reads "fifteenth." See Introd. ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH YEAR: So Sy (*i. e.* Kislev—December 168 BCE.). The Greek has "145th." Josephus *Ant.* 12.5, 4 (248) dates the defilement of the Temple by Antiochus in the 145th year of the Seleucid era and the 153rd Olympiad. On Josephus's reckoning and the Olympian era, see Appendix C. ABOMINATION: *Cf.* Dan. 9.27; 11.31. A term of abhorrence for a pagan symbol, as in I Kings 11.7.
58. EVERY ISRAELITE: "Who was found" is otiose, being a literal translation of the Hebrew idiom. IN THE CITIES: Omitted in some MSS.

ἐν παντὶ μηνὶ καὶ μηνὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. [59]καὶ τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνὸς θυσιάζοντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ
60 τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. [60]καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς περιτετμηκυίας τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἐθανάτωσαν κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα [61]καὶ ἐκρέμασαν τὰ βρέφη ἐκ τῶν τραχήλων αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς περιτετμηκότας αὐτούς. [62]καὶ πολλοὶ ἐν Ισραηλ ἐκραταιώθησαν καὶ ὠχυρώθησαν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῦ μὴ φαγεῖν κοινὰ [63]καὶ ἐπεδέξαντο ἀποθανεῖν, ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν τοῖς βρώμασιν καὶ μὴ βεβηλώσωσιν διαθήκην ἁγίαν, καὶ ἀπέθανον. [64]καὶ ἐγένετο ὀργὴ μεγάλη ἐπὶ Ισραηλ σφόδρα.

2 [1]Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἀνέστη Ματταθιας υἱὸς Ιωαννου τοῦ Συμεων ἱερεὺς τῶν υἱῶν Ιωαριβ ἀπὸ Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν Μωδεϊν. [2]καὶ αὐτῷ υἱοὶ πέντε, Ιωαννης ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Γαδδι, [3]Σιμων ὁ καλούμενος Θασσι, [4]Ιουδας ὁ καλούμενος
5 Μακκαβαῖος, [5]Ελεαζαρ ὁ καλούμενος Αυαραν, Ιωναθης ὁ καλούμενος Απφους. [6]καὶ εἶδεν τὰς βλασφημίας τὰς γινομένας ἐν Ιουδα καὶ ἐν Ιερουσαλημ [7]καὶ εἶπεν Οἴμμοι, ἵνα τί τοῦτο ἐγεννήθην ἰδεῖν τὸ σύντριμμα τοῦ λαοῦ μου καὶ τὸ σύντριμμα

---

60 κατα την εντολην του βασιλεως 55
61 οικους] οικειους A 56 αυτων+ προενομευσαν+εθανατωσαν 311 *trucidabant* B
62 εν Ισραηλ εν Ιερουσαλημ 74 εκραταιωθησαν] εκρεμασθησαν A 19 340

II
1 υιος>A ab hierusalem L B
2 γαδδης 74
3 θασις A 55 θαρσης 46
5 αυαραμ 340 αβαρν 71 σαπφους; σαφφους A 19
7 πολεως της αγιας La και εκαθισαν S L L a εθνων L

---

59. THEY: The Syrians. 60. THEY: The Syrians.
64. GREAT WAS THE WRATH: From II Kings 3.27.

1. THE SON OF SIMEON: Josephus, *Ant.* 12.6. 1 (265), adds "The son of Asamonaios." JOARIB: An important priestly family. MOVED AWAY FROM JERUSALEM: Om. LB; see critical note. According to Josephus, Mattathias was a native of Jerusalem. AND SETTLED: So V has *ab hierusalem et consedit in monte Modin.* Mattathias was a native of Jerusalem. When the officers of Antiochus came to enforce the decrees of the king, he fled to Modin. The view that Modin was the home of Mattathias and his parents is based on 2.70, which states that he was buried there in his ancestral tomb, indicating that his parents had a burial place there. But "he was buried in his ancestral tomb" is omitted in some MSS. Thus

brutally with every Israelite who was found in the cities.
59On the twenty-fifth of the month they offered sacrifices
upon the altar which was set on the altar of burnt-offering.
60 60In accordance with the decree they put to death the women
who had circumcised their children, 61hanging the new born
babies around their necks; and they also put to death their
families as well as those who had circumcised them. 62Never-
theless, many in Israel were firmly resolved in their hearts
not to eat unclean food. 63They preferred to die rather than
be defiled by food or break the holy covenant, and they did
die. 64Great was the wrath that came upon Israel.

2 At that time Mattathias, son of John, son of Simeon, a
priest of the family of Joarib, moved away from Jerusalem,
and settled in Modin. 2He had five sons: John surnamed
Gaddi, 3Simon called Thassi, 4Judah called Maccabee,
5 5Eleazar called Auaran and Jonathan called Apphus. 6When
he saw the blasphemous things that were taking place in
Judah and Jerusalem, 7he said:

"Wretched am I, why was I born to behold,
The dissolution of my people and the destruction of the
holy city,
To sit idly by while it is given into the hand of its enemies,

---

we may assume that Mattathias was a native of Jerusalem but that, after he fled with his sons, he settled in Modin. MODIN: Designated a city in 15 and 17; Josephus calls it a village. LXX generally translates עיר as 'city,' but sometimes 'village.' V called the place *Mount* Modin as did Josippon. It is designated a city in Rashi, Pes. 93b, and a village in Eusebius. In the Talmud it is sometimes spelled מודיעים or מודעית. It is located on the road to Beth Horon, about seventeen miles northwest of Jerusalem, the site of modern Ras Medieh. See F. M. Abel *RB* 20 (1923) pp. 496–500. The sages of the Talmud thought of Modin as distant from Jerusalem. According to the Pentateuch, if a person on the fourteenth day of Nisan was "on a journey far off," *i. e.* from Jerusalem, he was not obligated to bring the paschal lamb but was required to do so on the fourteenth of the month following. The sages defined the pentateuchal meaning of "journey far off" as the distance of Modin from Jerusalem. (See Pes, 93)

4. JUDAH CALLED MACCABEE: On the surname Maccabee as well as the surnames of the brothers; *cf.* App. B.

τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως καὶ καθίσαι ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ δοθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐν χειρὶ ἐχθρῶν, τὸ ἁγίασμα ἐν χειρὶ ἀλλοτρίων; [8]ἐγένετο ὁ ναὸς αὐτῆς ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄδοξος, [9]τὰ σκεύη τῆς δόξης αὐτῆς αἰχμάλωτα ἀπήχθη, ἀπεκτάνθη τὰ νήπια αὐτῆς ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις αὐτῆς, οἱ νεανίσκοι αὐτῆς ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ ἐχθροῦ.
10 [10]ποῖον ἔθνος οὐκ ἐκληρονόμησεν βασίλεια καὶ οὐκ ἐκράτησεν τῶν σκύλων αὐτῆς; [11]πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῆς ἀφῃρέθη, ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρας ἐγένετο εἰς δούλην. [12]καὶ ἰδοὺ τὰ ἅγια ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ καλλονὴ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ δόξα ἡμῶν ἠρημώθη, καὶ ἐβεβήλωσαν αὐτὰ τὰ ἔθνη. [13]ἵνα τί ἡμῖν ἔτι ζωή; [14]καὶ διέρρηξεν Ματταθιας καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν καὶ περιεβάλοντο σάκκους καὶ ἐπένθησαν σφόδρα.
15 [15]Καὶ ἦλθον οἱ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ καταναγκάζοντες τὴν ἀποστασίαν εἰς Μωδεϊν τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα θυσιάσωσιν. [16]καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπὸ Ισραηλ πρὸς αὐτοὺς προσῆλθον· καὶ Ματταθιας καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ συνήχθησαν. [17]καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ εἶπον τῷ Ματταθια λέγοντες Ἄρχων καὶ ἔνδοξος καὶ μέγας εἶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ καὶ ἐστηρισμένος υἱοῖς καὶ ἀδελφοῖς· [18]νῦν πρόσελθε πρῶτος καὶ ποίησον τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ἐποίησαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες Ιουδα καὶ οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐν Ιερουσαλημ, καὶ ἔσῃ σὺ καὶ υἱοί σου τῶν φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ σὺ καὶ οἱ υἱοί σου δοξασθήσεσθε ἀργυρίῳ καὶ χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀποστολαῖς πολλαῖς. [19]καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ματταθιας καὶ εἶπεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ Εἰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν οἴκῳ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούουσιν αὐτοῦ ἀποστῆναι ἕκαστος ἀπὸ λατρείας πατέρων
20 αὐτοῦ καὶ ᾑρετίσαντο ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ, [20]κἀγὼ καὶ οἱ υἱοί μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου πορευσόμεθα ἐν διαθήκῃ πατέρων

8 ο λαος 93 311 *populus* L
17 και αδελφοις> 107
18 ανδρες] αρχοντες A οι υιοι σου και ο οικος A

8. HER PEOPLE: The text has "her Temple," but certain cursive MSS have 'people,' and L has *populus*. 'People' seems correct.
15. SACRIFICE: V *et accendere et a lege dei discedere.*
16. MANY ISRAELITES CAME FORWARD TO THEM: V *consentientes accesserunt ad eos*, 'consented to come to them.'
17. BEGAN AND SAID: Lit. "Answered and said," Heb.
18. THE MEN OF JUDAH: See critical note. FRIENDS OF THE KING: A

The sanctuary into the hand of foreigners?
[8]Her people have become as a man without honor,
[9]Her glorious treasures captured, taken away;
Her infants have been killed in her streets,
Her young men, by the sword of the enemy.
[10]What nation has not shared,
And what kingdom has not seized her spoil?
[11]All her adornment has been taken away,
Instead of a free woman, she has become a slave.
[12]Yea, behold, our sanctuary and our beauty,
And our glory have been laid waste!
The heathen have profaned them.
[13]Why then should life continue for us?"

[14]Mattathias and his son store their clothes, put on sackcloth, and mourned bitterly.
[15]Then the king's officers who were compelling the people to renounce God came to the town of Modin, to force them to sacrifice. [16]Many Israelites came forward to them; even Mattathias and his sons were there. [17]The officers of the king said to Mattathias, "You are a leader, a prominent and great man in this town. You are firmly supported with sons and brothers. [18]Come forward first, and carry out the order of the king, as all the heathen, the men of Judah, and those left in Jerusalem have done; then you and your sons will be counted among the Friends of the King. You and your sons will be honored with silver and gold and many gifts."

[19]Mattathias answered and replied in a loud voice, "Though all the heathen within the bounds of the royal domain obey him, and each one forsake the worship of his [20]fathers, and show preference for his commands, [20]yet will I, my sons and my brothers walk in the covenant of our fathers.

---

court title, as was "companions of the king"; *cf.* Polybius 31.3.7. Josephus states that the officer told Mattathias the king would honor him if he followed his decree.

19. AND REPLIED: Heb.

ἡμῶν· 21ἵλεως ἡμῖν καταλιπεῖν νόμον καὶ δικαιώματα· 22τῶν
λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀκουσόμεθα παρελθεῖν τὴν λατρείαν
ἡμῶν δεξιὰν ἢ ἀριστεράν. 23καὶ ὡς ἐπαύσατο λαλῶν τοὺς
λόγους τούτους, προσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ Ιουδαῖος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων
θυσιάσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐν Μωδεῖν κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ
βασιλέως. 24καὶ εἶδεν Ματταθιας καὶ ἐζήλωσεν, καὶ ἐτρόμησαν
οἱ νεφροὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν θυμὸν κατὰ τὸ κρίμα καὶ
25 δραμὼν ἔσφαξεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν· 25καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ
βασιλέως τὸν ἀναγκάζοντα θύειν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ
ἐκείνῳ καὶ τὸν βωμὸν καθεῖλεν. 26καὶ ἐζήλωσεν τῷ νόμῳ,
καθὼς ἐποίησεν Φινεες τῷ Ζαμβρι υἱῷ Σαλωμ. 27καὶ ἀνέκραξεν
Ματταθιας ἐν τῇ πόλει φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων Πᾶς ὁ ζηλῶν
τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ἱστῶν διαθήκην ἐξελθέτω ὀπίσω μου. 28καὶ
ἔφυγεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἐγκατέλιπον
ὅσα εἶχον ἐν τῇ πόλει.

29Τότε κατέβησαν πολλοὶ ζητοῦντες δικαιοσύνην καὶ κρίμα
30 εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καθίσαι ἐκεῖ, 30αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ
γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐσκληρύνθη ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς τὰ κακά. 31καὶ ἀνηγγέλη τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῦ βασιλέως
καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, αἳ ἦσαν ἐν Ιερουσαλημ πόλει Δαυιδ ὅτι
κατέβησαν ἄνδρες, οἵτινες διεσκέδασαν τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ
βασιλέως, εἰς τοὺς κρύφους ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. 32καὶ ἔδραμον ὀπίσω
αὐτῶν πολλοὶ καὶ κατελάβοντο αὐτοὺς καὶ παρενέβαλον ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς καὶ συνεστήσαντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

---

21 δικαιωματα] ιδιωματα 55
24 ετρομασαν S
29 κριμα] κρισιν L
30 εσκληρυνθη+και επληθυνθη 56
31 εντολην] βουλην S 311 κρυφους] αποκρυφους 58 340
32 παρενεβαλον επ' αυτους και>107 V

---

21. FAR BE IT FROM US: Heb.; *cf.* II Sam. 20.20.
22. THE DECREE OF THE KING: V has "The words of the king."
23. A JEW CAME FORWARD: Heb. איש יהודי. This is the only instance in the first thirteen chapters in which the word "Jew" is used instead of "Israel." Note that the author uses *ανηρ ιουδαιος*; he may be following Esther 2.5, איש יהודי "A man of Judah." *Cf.* also Acts 2.14; 21.39; 22.3.
24. HIS SOUL WAS STIRRED UP: Lit. "His kidneys trembled"; *cf.* Ps. 73.21. Which Targum Jonathan renders, "My kidneys burn like fire." Kidneys were regarded as the seat of deliberation: See Talmud Ber. 61. COURAGE TO DECISION: According to the Law; V *iudicium legis.* SLEW HIM

[21]Far be it from us to forsake the Law and the testaments.
[22]We will not listen to the decree of the king by going astray
from our worship, either to the right or to the left."

[23]When he stopped speaking these words, a Jew came forward in sight of all to sacrifice upon the altar in Modin, in accordance with the decree of the king. [24]When Mattathias saw him, he was filled with zeal, and his soul was stirred up. He brought courage to decision, and running up he slew him
25 upon the altar. [25]The king's man who was enforcing the sacrifice he also killed at the same opportune time, and pulled down the altar. [26]Thus he showed his zeal for the Law, as Phineas had done toward Zimri, son of Salom. [27]Then Mattathias shouted out in a loud voice in the town, saying, "Let everyone who is zealous for the Law, and would maintain the covenant, follow me."

[28]He and his sons fled to the mountains, and left whatever they possessed in the town.

[29]Many who sought justice and judgment went down into
30 the wilderness, to settle there, [30]with their sons, their wives and their cattle, because misfortunes had fallen hard upon them. [31]Then news reached the king's officers and the forces in Jerusalem the city of David, that men who had rejected the command of the king had gone down to the hiding places in the wilderness. [32]Many pursued them, overtook them,

---

UPON THE ALTAR: Josephus (*Ant.* 12.6.1, 270) says that Mattathias, with his sons, killed the king's man, whose name is given as Apelles. In *Jewish Wars* (1.36) Josephus calls him Bacchides.

26. THE SON OF SALOM: *Cf.* Num. 25.6–8.

27. FOLLOW ME: Grimm (*Das erste Buch der Maccabäer* p. 40) thinks these words are similar to the battle cry of the Romans when they were in danger, *qui rem publicam salvam volunt me sequantur* (Livy 22.53). More likely the clause is a Hebraism based on a biblical verse; *cf.* Judg. 7.18.

28. FLED TO THE MOUNTAINS: Josephus says they fled "into the wilderness."

29. JUSTICE AND JUDGMENT: V *iudicium et iustitiam.* INTO THE WILDERNESS: Of Judaea, which was called *Yeshimon; cf.* I Sam. 23.19.

31. OFFICERS: Lit. men. HIDING PLACES: In the wilderness of Judaea there are many grottoes and caves. Judg. 20.47 relates that six hundred Benjamites fled to the wilderness and dwelt in a cave for four months. THE CITY OF DAVID: *I. e.* Akra.

τῶν σαββάτων [33]καὶ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτούς Ἕως τοῦ νῦν· ἐξελθόντες ποιήσατε κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ζήσεσθε. [34]καὶ εἶπον Οὐκ ἐξελευσόμεθα οὐδὲ ποιήσομεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ
35 βασιλέως βεβηλῶσαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν σαββάτων. [35]καὶ ἐτάχυναν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πόλεμον. [36]καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ λίθον ἐνετίναξαν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ἐνέφραξαν τοὺς κρύφους [37]λέγοντες Ἀποθάνωμεν πάντες ἐν τῇ ἁπλότητι ἡμῶν· μαρτυρεῖ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ ὅτι ἀκρίτως ἀπόλλυτε ἡμᾶς. [38]καὶ ἀνέστησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τοῖς σάββασιν, καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτοὶ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν ἕως χιλίων ψυχῶν ἀνθρώπων.

[39]Καὶ ἔγνω Ματταθιας καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπένθησαν
40 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς σφόδρα. [40]καὶ εἶπεν ἀνὴρ τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ Ἐὰν πάντες ποιήσωμεν ὡς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν ἐποίησαν καὶ μὴ πολεμήσωμεν πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν δικαιωμάτων ἡμῶν, νῦν τάχιον ὀλεθρεύσουσιν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. [41]καὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ λέγοντες Πᾶς ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς εἰς πόλεμον τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων, πολεμήσωμεν κατέναντι αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν πάντες καθὼς ἀπέθανον οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς κρύφοις. [42]τότε συνήχθησαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συναγωγὴ Ασιδαίων, ἰσχυροὶ δυνάμει ἀπὸ Ισραηλ, πᾶς ὁ ἑκουσιαζόμενος τῷ νόμῳ· [43]καὶ πάντες οἱ φυγαδεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν προσετέθησαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτοῖς εἰς στήριγμα. [44]καὶ συνεστήσαντο δύναμιν καὶ ἐπάταξαν ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτῶν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀνόμους ἐν θυμῷ αὐτῶν· καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ ἔθνη σωθῆναι.
45 [45]καὶ ἐκύκλωσεν Ματταθιας καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ καὶ καθεῖλον

---

38 χιλιων>S
39 ηκουσε (Hippol. Com. Dan. IV 44) εως σφοδρα A
40 εξολοθρευσωσιν 534
41 την ημεραν εκεινην S
42 ασιδαιων ιουδαιων S 74 *iudaeorum* B
44 ανδρας ανοσιους 46 58
45 εκελευσεν S 46 55 φιλοι] υιοι A, *cum filiis et amicis suis* B

---

36. NOR THEY HURL A STONE AGAINST THEM: *I. e.*, they did not resist on the Sabbath day.
38. DIED: According to Josephus many escaped and joined Mattathias.
39. HEARD: V *et cognouit.*
40. EACH ONE SAYING TO THE OTHER: Heb.; *cf.* II Kings 7.9.

encamped against them, and organized an attack against them on the Sabbath day. [33]They said to them, "This is enough! Come out and obey the command of the king, and you will live." [34]But they answered, "We will not come forth, nor will we obey the command of the king to profane the
35 Sabbath day." [35]Then they attacked them. [36]They did not defend themselves nor did they hurl a stone against them, nor block up the hiding places, [37]saying, "Let all of us die in our innocence; may heaven and earth testify in our behalf that you destroy us against all justice." [38]They attacked them on the Sabbath, and they, their wives, their children and their cattle died, to the number of a thousand souls.

[39]When Mattathias and his friends heard this, they
40 mourned greatly over them, [40]each one saying to the other, "If all of us do as our brothers have done, and do not fight against the heathen for our lives and our laws, they will soon destroy us from off the earth." [41]They then made the following decision, "If any man attack us in battle on the Sabbath day, let us oppose him, that we may not all die as our brothers did in the hiding places."

[42]At that time a company of Hasidim joined them, an exceedingly forceful group of Israel, each one offering himself willingly in defense of the Law. [43]All the refugees from misfortune joined them, and came to reinforce them. [44]They mustered an army and smote sinners in their anger, and lawless men in their wrath, while the rest fled to the heathen to
45 save themselves. [45]Mattathias and his friends went about,

---

42. A COMPANY OF HASIDIM: SV, 74 has "Jews." So B *sinagoga iudaeorum.* The reading Hasidim is preferable. This group was the forerunner of the sect known as Essenes, who observed the commandments strictly. The Hasidim were not concerned with the Jews as a nationality. They joined Mattathias only when Antiochus severely persecuted all those who observed the Law. Only after more than a thousand persons were burned to death in the cave because they did not wish to resist Antiochus, did the Hasidim see the folly of their policy and join the rebellion. But as soon as the Jews received religious freedom, the Hasidim not only withdrew from the Hasmonaeans and refused to participate in the struggle for the political independence of Judaea but actually opposed them.

τοὺς βωμοὺς [46]καὶ περιέτεμον τὰ παιδάρια τὰ ἀπερίτμητα,
ὅσα εὗρον ἐν ὁρίοις Ισραηλ, ἐν ἰσχύι [47]καὶ ἐδίωξαν τοὺς υἱοὺς
τῆς ὑπερηφανίας, καὶ κατευοδώθη τὸ ἔργον ἐν χειρὶ αὐτῶν·
[48]καὶ ἀντελάβοντο τοῦ νόμου ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν
βασιλέων καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκαν κέρας τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ.

[49]Καὶ ἤγγισαν αἱ ἡμέραι Ματταθιου ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ εἶπεν
τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ Νῦν ἐστηρίσθη ὑπερηφανία καὶ ἐλεγμὸς καὶ
50 καιρὸς καταστροφῆς καὶ ὀργὴ θυμοῦ. [50]νῦν, τέκνα, ζηλώσατε
τῷ νόμῳ καὶ δότε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ διαθήκης πατέρων
ἡμῶν [51]καὶ μνήσθητε τὰ ἔργα τῶν πατέρων, ἃ ἐποίησαν ἐν
ταῖς γενεαῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ δέξασθε δόξαν μεγάλην καὶ ὄνομα
αἰώνιον. [52]Αβρααμ οὐχὶ ἐν πειρασμῷ εὑρέθη πιστός, καὶ
ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην; [53]Ιωσηφ ἐν καιρῷ στενοχωρίας
αὐτοῦ ἐφύλαξεν ἐντολὴν καὶ ἐγένετο κύριος Αἰγύπτου. [54]Φινεες
ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ ζηλῶσαι ζῆλον ἔλαβεν διαθήκην ἱερω-
55 σύνης αἰωνίας. [55]Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ πληρῶσαι λόγον ἐγένετο
κριτὴς ἐν Ισραηλ. [56]Χαλεβ ἐν τῷ μαρτύρασθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἔλαβεν γῆς κληρονομίαν. [57]Δαυιδ ἐν τῷ ἐλέει αὐτοῦ ἐκληρο-
νόμησεν θρόνον βασιλείας εἰς αἰῶνας. [58]Ηλιας ἐν τῷ ζηλῶσαι
ζῆλον νόμου ἀνελήμφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. [59]Ανανιας, Αζαριας,
60 Μισαηλ πιστεύσαντες ἐσώθησαν ἐκ φλογός. [60]Δανιηλ ἐν τῇ
ἁπλότητι αὐτοῦ ἐρρύσθη ἐκ στόματος λεόντων. [61]καὶ οὕτως

48 εκ χειρος των βασιλεων S
51 μνησθητε των πατερων ημων τα εργα A
56 επιμαρτυρασθαι A
58 ως εις τον A
61 και γενεαν> A

47. THE CONTEMPTUOUS ONES: Heb.; *cf.* II Sam. 3.34. This refers to the Syrians as well as to the Hellenized Jews, who accepted the decrees of the king.

48. GAVE NO OCCASION FOR TRIUMPH TO THE SINNER: Lit. gave not a horn to the sinner. *Cf.* Ps. 75.11, and also Dan. 8.20–1.

49. WHEN THE DAYS DREW NEAR FOR MATTATHIAS TO DIE: Heb.; *cf.* I Kings 2.1.

52. IN TIME OF TRIAL: *Cf.* Gen. 22.1. BECAME RULER OF EGYPT: See Gen. 39.9.

54. RECEIVED THE PROMISE: *Cf.* Num. 25.7,13.

55. A JUDGE IN ISRAEL: A ruler like those in the early period of Hebrew history.

57. DAVID BECAUSE OF HIS MERCY: The Hebrew probably had בחסידתו which may mean "in his piety." The Greek translator followed the usual LXX rendering of חסיד as "merciful." EVERLASTING KINGDOM: *Cf.*

and tore down the altars, [46]and circumcised by force as many of the uncircumcised children as they found in the borders of Israel. [47]They pursued the contemptuous ones, and the work prospered in their hands. [48]Thus they rescued the Law from the hand of the heathen and the kings, and gave no occasion for triumph to the sinner.

[49]When the days drew near for Mattathias to die, he said to his sons, "Now arrogance and reproach have become
50 strong. This is a time of destruction and anger. [50]My children, be zealous for the Law, and give your lives in behalf of the testament of our fathers. [51]Be mindful of the deeds of our fathers, which they performed in their generations, that you may receive great glory and eternal renown. [52]Was not Abraham found faithful in time of trial, and it was accounted to him for righteousness? [53]Joseph, in the time of his distress, kept the commandment and became lord of Egypt. [54]Phineas, our ancestor, in preserving his zeal received
55 the promise of eternal priesthood. [55]Joshua for fulfilling a command became a judge in Israel. [56]Caleb for bearing witness in the congregation obtained an inheritance in the land. [57]David because of his mercy inherited the throne of an everlasting kingdom. [58]Elijah because of his great love for the Law was taken up into heaven. [59]Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael, because they had faith, were rescued from fire.
60 [60]Daniel because of his innocence was saved from the mouth of the lions. [61]Consider how, throughout each generation,

II Sam. 7.13, 16.

59. HANANIAH . . . : *Cf.* Dan. 1.6; 3.13–26.

60. "From the mouth of the lions"; *cf.* Dan. 6.22. The testament of Mattathias to his sons was not in the original book but was added later. Mattathias could not have told his sons that Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael were saved from the fire because of their faith and Daniel was saved from the mouth of the lions, nor could this matter have been in the original book, for Daniel was then a recent work. Abraham, Joseph, Joshua and David and their deeds were naturally familiar from the Pentateuch and the early prophecies, which had already been canonized, but the story of Daniel was not yet considered sacred nor authentic. The testament of Mattathias was added by the editor of I Maccabees. *Cf.* Introd. p. 32.

ἐννοήθητε κατὰ γενεὰν καὶ γενεάν, ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἐλπίζοντες
ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀσθενήσουσιν. [62]καὶ ἀπὸ λόγων ἀνδρὸς ἁμαρ-
τωλοῦ μὴ φοβηθῆτε, ὅτι ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ εἰς κόπρια καὶ εἰς
σκώληκας· [63]σήμερον ἐπαρθήσεται καὶ αὔριον οὐ μὴ εὑρεθῇ,
ὅτι ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸν χοῦν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ διαλογισμὸς αὐτοῦ
ἀπολεῖται. [64]τέκνα, ἀνδρίζεσθε καὶ ἰσχύσατε ἐν τῷ νόμῳ,
65 ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ δοξασθήσεσθε. [65]καὶ ἰδοὺ Συμεων ὁ ἀδελφὸς
ὑμῶν, οἶδα ὅτι ἀνὴρ βουλῆς ἐστιν, αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε πάσας τὰς
ἡμέρας, αὐτὸς ἔσται ὑμῶν πατήρ. [66]καὶ Ιουδας Μακκαβαῖος
ἰσχυρὸς δυνάμει ἐκ νεότητος αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς ἔσται ὑμῖν ἄρχων
στρατιᾶς καὶ πολεμήσει πόλεμον λαῶν. [67]καὶ ὑμεῖς προσ-
άξετε πρὸς ὑμᾶς πάντας τοὺς ποιητὰς τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἐκδικήσατε
ἐκδίκησιν τοῦ λαοῦ ὑμῶν· [68]ἀνταπόδοτε ἀνταπόδομα τοῖς
ἔθνεσιν καὶ προσέχετε εἰς πρόσταγμα τοῦ νόμου. — [69]καὶ
εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς· καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ.
70 [70]καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει
καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τάφοις πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐν Μωδεϊν, καὶ ἐκόψαντο
αὐτὸν πᾶς Ισραηλ κοπετὸν μέγαν.

3 [1]Καὶ ἀνέστη Ιουδας ὁ καλούμενος Μακκαβαῖος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ
ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ. [2]καὶ ἐβοήθουν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ
πάντες, ὅσοι ἐκολλήθησαν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπολέμουν τὸν
πόλεμον Ισραηλ μετ᾽ εὐφροσύνης. [3]καὶ ἐπλάτυνεν δόξαν τῷ
λαῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνεδύσατο θώρακα ὡς γίγας καὶ συνεζώσατο
τὰ σκεύη τὰ πολεμικὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ πολέμους συνεστήσατο
σκεπάζων παρεμβολὴν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ. [4]καὶ ὡμοιώθη λέοντι ἐν
τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς σκύμνος ἐρευγόμενος εἰς θήραν.
5 [5]καὶ ἐδίωξεν ἀνόμους ἐξερευνῶν καὶ τοὺς ταράσσοντας τὸν

III

65 αυτος υμιν εσται εις πατερα A
66 εις αρχοντα A 19–62
70 εν ταφοις πατερων αυτου>71
3+Ιουδας L 19 93 τω λαω] τω λογω V
παρεμβολην εν ρομφαια] ρομφαιαν εν πολεμω V

65. A MAN OF WISE COUNSEL: B. has *vir boni consilii est.*
69. GATHERED TO HIS FATHERS: A biblical phrase for dying. *Cf.* Judges 2.10; II Chr. 34.28; Judith 16.32; Acts 13.36.
70. FORTY-SIXTH YEAR: *I. e.*, 168–67 BCE. IN MODIN: Our text has "in his ancestral tombs," which is probably a later addition. See 2.1 above.

none who put their trust in Him will lack strength. [62]Of the
words of a sinful man be not afraid, because his glory shall
become dung and worms. [63]Today he may be exalted, but
tomorrow he will nowhere be found, because he has returned
to his dust, and memory of him will have perished. [64]As for
you, my children, be strong and courageous in behalf of the
65 Law, for through it you will be glorified. [65]Behold Simon
your brother; I know that he is a man of wise counsel. Obey
him always; he will be a father to you. [66]Judah Maccabee,
strong in might from his youth, will be the leader of the
army, and will fight the people's war. [67]As for you, gather
about you all who observe the Law, and avenge fully the
wrong done to your people. [68]Requite the heathen measure
for measure, and obey the ordinance of the Law."

[69]Then he blessed them and was gathered to his fathers.
70 [70]He died in the one hundred and forty-sixth year, and he was
buried in Modin, and all Israel made great lamentation for
him.

3 Then Judah, his son, who was called Maccabee, arose in
his stead,
[2]And all his brothers helped him,
As well as all those who were adherents of his father,
And gladly they fought Israel's war.
[3]He spread his people's glory far and wide,
He donned a breast-plate like a giant,
And girded on his weapons of war.
He organized battles, protecting his camp with the sword;
[4]He was like a lion in his deeds,
Like a lion's whelp roaring for its prey.
5 [5]He sought out and pursued those who broke the Law

---

3. HIS WEAPONS OF WAR: Heb. "Instruments of war." *Cf.* I Sam. 8.12. LXX has the same rendering.

5. HE EXTERMINATED: Our text has "burn up." The Hebrew probably had בער which the translator rendered "burn"; *cf.* Deut. 17.7; Is. 5.5.

λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐφλόγισεν. [6]καὶ συνεστάλησαν ἄνομοι ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας συνεταράχθησαν, καὶ εὐοδώθη σωτηρία ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. [7]καὶ ἐπίκρανεν βασιλεῖς πολλοὺς καὶ εὔφρανεν τὸν Ιακωβ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ εἰς εὐλογίαν. [8]καὶ διῆλθεν ἐν πόλεσιν Ιουδα καὶ ἐξωλέθρευσεν ἀσεβεῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν ὀργὴν ἀπὸ Ισραηλ [9]καὶ ὠνομάσθη ἕως ἐσχάτου γῆς καὶ συνήγαγεν ἀπολλυμένους.

10 [10]Καὶ συνήγαγεν Ἀπολλώνιος ἔθνη καὶ ἀπὸ Σαμαρείας δύναμιν μεγάλην τοῦ πολεμῆσαι πρὸς τὸν Ισραηλ. [11]καὶ ἔγνω Ιουδας καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν· καὶ ἔπεσον τραυματίαι πολλοί, καὶ οἱ ἐπίλοιποι ἔφυγον. [12]καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ σκῦλα αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν Ἀπολλωνίου ἔλαβεν Ιουδας καὶ ἦν πολεμῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας. [13]καὶ ἤκουσεν Σήρων ὁ ἄρχων τῆς δυνάμεως Συρίας ὅτι ἤθροισεν Ιουδας ἄθροισμα καὶ ἐκκλησίαν πιστῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκπορευομένων εἰς πόλεμον, [14]καὶ εἶπεν Ποιήσω ἐμαυτῷ ὄνομα καὶ δοξασθήσομαι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ πολεμήσω τὸν Ιουδαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐξουδενοῦντας τὸν λόγον
15 τοῦ βασιλέως. [15]καὶ προσέθετο καὶ ἀνέβη μετ' αὐτοῦ παρεμβολὴ ἀσεβῶν ἰσχυρὰ βοηθῆσαι αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι τὴν ἐκδίκησιν ἐν υἱοῖς Ισραηλ. [16]καὶ ἤγγισεν ἕως ἀναβάσεως Βαιθωρων, καὶ

---

7 Ιακωβ] Ισραηλ 93 311
8 ασεβεις] βασιλεις 311
15 συναγαγων (Jos.)
16 και εξηλθεν Ιουδας] και εξηλθον S

---

8. TURNED AWAY WRATH FROM ISRAEL: *Cf.* 1.64 above. We are here told that when Antiochus defiled the Temple great wrath fell upon Israel, which Judah removed by his deeds.

10. APOLLONIUS: According to Josephus, 12. (261), Apollonius was governor of Samaria.

11. MANY WERE KILLED: Our text has "fell wounded." See above 1.18.

13. GENERAL OF THE SYRIAN ARMY: *Cf* LXX Kings 5.1. Josephus, 12.288 says that Seron was governor of Coelo-Syria. Michelis is right in assuming that the Hebrew had שר חיל ארם, "the Commander of the Army of Syria." Josephus read this שר חילא ארם and hence wrote Coelo Syria, "the Commander of Coele Syria." See Grimm *ad. loc.* This indicates that Josephus made use of the original Hebrew of I Maccabees. See Introd. p. 58.

15. HE GATHERED TOGETHER: Our text has "He went up," but Josephus

And exterminated those who troubled his people.
[6]Law-breakers cowered for fear of him,
All workers of iniquity were thrown into confusion,
And deliverance was accomplished by his hand.
[7]He angered many kings,
But gladdened Jacob by his deeds;
So forever will his memory be for a blessing.
[8]He went about among the cities of Judah,
And from it he utterly destroyed the godless ones;
Thus he turned away wrath from Israel.
[9]To the ends of the earth he was renowned,
And he brought together those who were ready to perish.

10 [10]Apollonius mustered the heathen, with a large force from Samaria, to wage war against Israel. [11]When Judah learned this he went out to meet him and struck him down and killed him. Many were killed, and the rest fled. [12]Then they took their spoils. Judah took the sword of Apollonius and fought with it all his life.

[13]When Seron, the general of the Syrian army, heard that Judah had mustered a levy and a company of faithful men about him, along with others accustomed to going out to war, [14]he said, "I will make a name for myself and be renowned in the kingdom. I will make war on Judah and those who are with him, who set at nought the command of the king."

15 [15]He went up again with a strong expedition of godless men to help him take revenge on the Israelites. [16]He approached as far as the ascent of Beth Horon, where Judah with only a

---

says "gathered together." See Introd., p. 34, and *cf.* M. Schwabe and E. Melamed, MGWJ, 1928. pp. 202–4.

16. THE ASCENT OF BETH HORON: *Cf.* Josh. 10.10. The region extends from the Philistine plain to the highland of Judaea. According to Eusebius (*Onamastikon* Ed. E. Klosterman, Leipzig 1904, p. 46) Beth Horon is about twelve miles NW. of Jerusalem and lies on the road to Jaffa, Tel Aviv. It was always a very important military post and the scene of many battles. In the year 65 CE. the Roman general Cestius suffered a severe defeat at Beth Horon at the hands of the Jews.

ἐξῆλθεν Ιουδας εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῷ ὀλιγοστός. 17ὡς δὲ εἶδον
τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐρχομένην εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῶν, εἶπον τῷ
Ιουδα Τί δυνησόμεθα ὀλιγοστοὶ ὄντες πολεμῆσαι πρὸς πλῆθος
τοσοῦτο ἰσχυρόν; καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκλελύμεθα ἀσιτοῦντες σήμερον.
18καὶ εἶπεν Ιουδας Εὔκοπόν ἐστιν συγκλεισθῆναι πολλοὺς ἐν
χερσὶν ὀλίγων, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν διαφορὰ ἐναντίον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
σῴζειν ἐν πολλοῖς ἢ ἐν ὀλίγοις· 19ὅτι οὐκ ἐν πλήθει δυνάμεως
20 νίκη πολέμου ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἡ ἰσχύς. 20αὐτοὶ
ἔρχονται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν πλήθει ὕβρεως καὶ ἀνομίας τοῦ ἐξᾶραι
ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν τοῦ σκυλεῦσαι
ἡμᾶς, 21ἡμεῖς δὲ πολεμοῦμεν περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν
νομίμων ἡμῶν. 22καὶ αὐτὸς συντρίψει αὐτοὺς πρὸ προσώπου
ἡμῶν, ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπ' αὐτῶν. 23ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο
λαλῶν, ἐνήλατο εἰς αὐτοὺς ἄφνω, καὶ συνετρίβη Σήρων καὶ
ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. 24καὶ ἐδίωκον αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ
καταβάσει Βαιθωρων ἕως τοῦ πεδίου· καὶ ἔπεσον ἀπ' αὐτῶν
εἰς ἄνδρας ὀκτακοσίους, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἔφυγον εἰς γῆν Φυλιστιιμ.
25 25καὶ ἤρξατο ὁ φόβος Ιουδου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ
πτόη ἐπέπιπτεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ κύκλῳ αὐτῶν· 26καὶ ἤγγισεν
ἕως τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν παρατάξεων
Ιουδου ἐξηγεῖτο τὰ ἔθνη.

27Ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος τοὺς λόγους τούτους,
ὠργίσθη θυμῷ καὶ ἀπέστειλεν καὶ συνήγαγεν τὰς δυνάμεις
πάσας τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, παρεμβολὴν ἰσχυρὰν σφόδρα.
28καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔδωκεν ὀψώνια ταῖς
δυνάμεσιν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς εἶναι ἑτοίμους
εἰς πᾶσαν χρείαν. 29καὶ εἶδεν ὅτι ἐξέλιπεν τὸ ἀργύριον ἐκ τῶν
θησαυρῶν καὶ οἱ φόροι τῆς χώρας ὀλίγοι χάριν τῆς διχοστα-
σίας καὶ πληγῆς, ἧς κατεσκεύασεν ἐν τῇ γῇ τοῦ ἆραι τὰ

17 ειδε(ν)+οι *μετα* Ιουδα 19–93 αυ-
των]-τω 340 106 τι] πως 93 ισχυ-
ρον>A
23 επαυσατο+Ιουδας 311 αυτου>93
25 επιπτεν 62 106 340
26 πραξεων 93

17. HIS MEN SAW: The Jews.
18. HEAVEN: Some manuscripts have *θεου* but there can be no doubt that this was supplied by a later scribe. V also has *dei* but L and B have *caeli*. MANY OR BY FEW: Heb.; *cf.* I Sam. 14.6.
22. HE HIMSELF: Mention of the Divine Name is avoided. *Cf.* Introd.

few men went out to meet him. [17]When his men saw the expedition coming to meet them, they said to Judah, "How can we, so few in number, be able to fight against so great a multitude? Then too, we are faint, for we have had nothing to eat today."

[18]Judah replied, "It is an easy thing for many to be hemmed in by the hands of a few. There is no difference in the sight of Heaven to save by many or by few. [19]Victory in battle does not depend on the size of an army, but rather on strength
20 that comes from Heaven. [20]They are advancing against us, full of violence and lawlessness, to destroy us, our wives and our children, and to plunder us. [21]We are fighting for our lives and our Laws. [22]He Himself will shatter them before us; but as for you, be not afraid of them."

[23]When he stopped speaking, he drove at them suddenly, and Seron and his expedition were crushed before him. [24]They pursued him down the descent from Beth Horon as far as the plain, and about eight hundred men were slain,
25 while the rest fled to the land of the Philistines. [25]Then began the fear and dread of Judah and his brothers to fall upon the heathen around them. [26]His fame reached even to the king, and the heathen told about the military prowess of Judah.

[27]When King Antiochus heard this, he was enraged, so he gathered together all the forces of his kingdom, a very strong expedition. [28]He opened his treasury, gave a year's pay to his soldiers and charged them to be prepared for every emergency. [29]He saw, however, that the money in his treasury had run short. The revenues of the country were small because of the dissension and calamity which he had caused in the land by

---

pp. 28–9.

23. WERE CRUSHED BEFORE HIM: According to Josephus, 12.292, Seron was killed.

24. FLED TO THE LAND OF THE PHILISTINES: Josephus, *ibid.*, has "they escaped to the seacoast."

25. BEGAN THE FEAR AND DREAD OF JUDAH: Hitherto he was considered a rebellious troublemaker, but not a serious danger. But after his victory over Seron he was recognized as a menace to the Syrian empire.

28. PREPARED FOR EVERY EMERGENCY: Apparently there were disturbances not only in Judaea but also in other provinces.

30 νόμιμα, ἃ ἦσαν ἀφ' ἡμερῶν τῶν πρώτων, [30]καὶ εὐλαβήθη μὴ
οὐκ ἔχῃ ὡς ἅπαξ καὶ δὶς εἰς τὰς δαπάνας καὶ τὰ δόματα, ἃ
ἐδίδου ἔμπροσθεν δαψιλῇ χειρὶ καὶ ἐπερίσσευσεν ὑπὲρ τοὺς
βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, [31]καὶ ἠπορεῖτο τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ
σφόδρα καὶ ἐβουλεύσατο τοῦ πορευθῆναι εἰς τὴν Περσίδα καὶ
λαβεῖν τοὺς φόρους τῶν χωρῶν καὶ συναγαγεῖν ἀργύριον
πολύ. [32]καὶ κατέλιπεν Λυσίαν ἄνθρωπον ἔνδοξον καὶ ἀπὸ γένους
τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τοῦ
ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ ἕως ὁρίων Αἰγύπτου [33]καὶ τρέφειν
Ἀντίοχον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἕως τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι αὐτόν· [34]καὶ
παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὰς ἡμίσεις τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας
καὶ ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ περὶ πάντων, ὧν ἠβούλετο, καὶ περὶ τῶν
35 κατοικούντων τὴν Ιουδαίαν καὶ Ιερουσαλημ [35]ἀποστεῖλαι ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς δύναμιν τοῦ ἐκτρῖψαι καὶ ἐξᾶραι τὴν ἰσχὺν Ισραηλ καὶ
τὸ κατάλειμμα Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἆραι τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν
ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου [36]καὶ κατοικίσαι υἱοὺς ἀλλογενεῖς ἐν πᾶσιν
τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῶν καὶ κατακληροδοτῆσαι τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν.
[37]καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρέλαβεν τὰς ἡμίσεις τῶν δυνάμεων τὰς
καταλειφθείσας καὶ ἀπῆρεν ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας ἀπὸ πόλεως βασι-
λείας αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἑβδόμου καὶ τεσσαρακοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ
καὶ διεπέρασεν τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν καὶ διεπορεύετο τὰς
ἐπάνω χώρας.

[38]Καὶ ἐπέλεξεν Λυσίας Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Δορυμένους καὶ
Νικάνορα καὶ Γοργίαν, ἄνδρας δυνατοὺς τῶν φίλων τοῦ
βασιλέως, [39]καὶ ἀπέστειλεν μετ' αὐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα χιλι-
άδας ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἑπτακισχιλίαν ἵππον τοῦ ἐλθεῖν εἰς γῆν Ιουδα

---

30 δοματα] δικαιωματα V δογματα 62
32 κατελιπεν] απελυσεν S
35 εκρειψαι A
36 αλλογενεις] αλλοτριους A 56 κατα-
κληρονομησαι A56
39 πεντηκοντα V

---

30. HAD HAPPENED ONCE OR TWICE: Heb.; *cf.* Neh. 13.20. WITH EXTRAVAGANCE: Antiochus Epiphanes was known for his extravagance; *cf.* Polybius 26.1.

32. ROYAL LINEAGE: Heb.; *cf.* II Kings 25.25; *cf.* also II Mac. 11.1.

33. TO REAR ANTIOCHUS: The future king Antiochus V Eupator.

35. TO UPROOT: It was to be a war of extermination; the Jews were to be utterly extirpated.

36. STRANGERS: Lit. alien sons. Heb.; *cf.* II Sam. 22.46.

30 removing the laws which had existed from earliest days. [30]He
was cautious also lest he might not have enough, as had
happened once or twice, for the expenses and the presents,
which he had given before with extravagance, surpassing in
this the kings who came before him. [31]He was at a loss as
to what to do, but finally decided to go to Persia, to take
the revenues of the countries, and to levy a large sum of
money. [32]He left Lysias, a prominent man of royal lineage,
over the King's affairs from the river Euphrates to the borders
of Egypt, [33]and entrusted him to rear Antiochus, his son,
until his return. [34]He handed over to him half of his forces and
the elephants. He gave him orders about everything that he
wanted him to do, especially about the inhabitants of Judaea
35 and Jerusalem, [35]against whom he was ordered to send an
army to uproot and destroy the strength of Israel and the
remnant of Jerusalem, to efface their memory from the place,
[36]to settle strangers in all their borders, and to parcel out
their land by lot.

[37]The king then took half of the forces that were left and
set out from Antioch, his royal city, in the one hundred and
forty-seventh year, crossed the Euphrates River, and made
his way to the upper countries.

[38]Meanwhile Lysias selected Ptolemy the son of Dory-
menes, and Nicanor and Gorgias, able men of the Friends of
the King, [39]and sent with them forty thousand infantry and
seven thousand cavalry, to go to Judah and to destroy it

37. FROM ANTIOCH: In Syria. This city was built by Seleucus Nicator in 300 BCE, on the left bank of the Orontes and was named in honor of his father Antiochus I. *Cf.* Strabo 16.2. ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVENTH YEAR: *I. e.*, 167–66 BCE. According to Josephus (12.293) Antiochus made preparations to invade Judaea in the beginning of the spring. This would place the event in the spring of 166. THE UPPER COUNTRIES: Persia and Media were so called; *cf.* Polybius 5.40.5.

38. PTOLEMY THE SON OF DORYMENES: According to II Mac. 10.12 Ptolemy was called Macron and was friendly to the Jews. NICANOR: Described in II Mac. 8.9 as the son of Patroclus, was one of the foremost friends of the king. GORGIAS: *Cf.* II Mac. 10.14.

39. FORTY THOUSAND INFANTRY: According to II Mac. 8.9 there were twenty thousand men.

40 καὶ καταφθεῖραι αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως. 40καὶ
ἀπῆρεν σὺν πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει αὐτῶν, καὶ ἦλθον καὶ παρενέ-
βαλον πλησίον Αμμαους ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ πεδινῇ. 41καὶ ἤκουσαν
οἱ ἔμποροι τῆς χώρας τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν καὶ ἔλαβον ἀργύριον
καὶ χρυσίον πολὺ σφόδρα καὶ πέδας καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν παρεμ-
βολὴν τοῦ λαβεῖν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ισραηλ εἰς παῖδας. καὶ προσ-
ετέθησαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς δύναμις Συρίας καὶ γῆς ἀλλοφύλων.
42καὶ εἶδεν Ιουδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐπληθύνθη τὰ κακὰ
καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις παρεμβάλλουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῶν, καὶ
ἐπέγνωσαν τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βασιλέως, οὓς ἐνετείλατο ποιῆσαι
τῷ λαῷ εἰς ἀπώλειαν καὶ συντέλειαν, 43καὶ εἶπαν ἕκαστος
πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ Ἀναστήσωμεν τὴν καθαίρεσιν τοῦ
λαοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ πολεμήσωμεν περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν
ἁγίων. 44καὶ ἠθροίσθη ἡ συναγωγὴ τοῦ εἶναι ἑτοίμους εἰς
πόλεμον καὶ τοῦ προσεύξασθαι καὶ αἰτῆσαι ἔλεος καὶ οἰκτιρ-
45 μούς. 45καὶ Ιερουσαλημ ἦν ἀοίκητος ὡς ἔρημος, οὐκ ἦν ὁ
εἰσπορευόμενος καὶ ἐκπορευόμενος ἐκ τῶν γενημάτων αὐτῆς,
καὶ τὸ ἁγίασμα καταπατούμενον, καὶ υἱοὶ ἀλλογενῶν ἐν τῇ
ἄκρᾳ, κατάλυμα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· καὶ ἐξήρθη τέρψις ἐξ Ιακωβ,
καὶ ἐξέλιπεν αὐλὸς καὶ κινύρα. 46καὶ συνήχθησαν καὶ ἦλθοσαν
εἰς Μασσηφα κατέναντι Ιερουσαλημ, ὅτι τόπος προσευχῆς
ἦν ἐν Μασσηφα τὸ πρότερον τῷ Ισραηλ. 47καὶ ἐνήστευσαν τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ περιεβάλοντο σάκκους καὶ σποδὸν ἐπὶ τὴν
κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν καὶ διέρρηξαν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν. 48καὶ ἐξεπέ-
τασαν τὸ βιβλίον τοῦ νόμου περὶ ὧν ἐξηρεύνων τὰ ἔθνη τὰ

---

41 πεδας παιδας 93 προσεγενηθησαν 44 56
42 λαω+Ισραηλ 56
43 λαου] ναου 55 νομου 58
44 συνηθροισθη 58 311 μεγαλη συναγωγη 58
46 συνηχθησαν] — ηλθοσαν 62 58
48 εξηρευνα 93 εθνη+του επιγραφειν επ αυτων 55 58

---

40. EMMAUS IN THE PLAIN COUNTRY: According to the Talmud (Yer. Sheb, 9.2 "the plain is from Emmaus to Lydda." Judaea was divided into three districts—the highland, the plain and the valley. Since the third century Emmaus was named Nicopolis, the modern *Amwas*, which is situated twenty-two Roman miles west of Jerusalem on the road to Joppa.

41. FETTERS: V *et pueros*, slaves. See also critical note. PHILISTINES: Except in the Pentateuch and Joshua, LXX renders the Hebrew word

40 according to the command of the king. [40]They started off with
their entire army, and came and pitched camp near Emmaus
in the plain country. [41]The merchants of the country heard
news of them, and took a great sum of silver and gold and
fetters, and came to the camp to buy the Israelites as slaves.
An army from Syria and from the land of the Philistines
joined them.

[42]When Judah and his brothers saw that misfortunes were
increasing, and armies were encamping on their borders,
aware of what the king had said when he ordered his men to
destroy the people completely, [43]they said to one another,
"Let us repair the evil fortune of our people and fight for
our people and the sanctuary." [44]The congregation gathered
together to be ready for war, and to pray and to seek mercy
and compassion.

45 [45]Jerusalem was uninhabited like a wilderness;
None of her offspring went in or went out.
The sanctuary was trodden down,
And sons of foreigners were in the citadel.
It became a solitary lodge for the heathen.
Joy was removed from Jacob,
And flute and harp ceased.

[46]They gathered together and went to Mizpeh, opposite
Jerusalem, because Israel formerly had a place of prayer in
Mizpeh. [47]On that day they fasted, and donned sack-cloth,
put ashes on their head, and tore their garments. [48]They
spread out the scroll of the Law, upon which the heathen

Philistines *allophuloi*. According to Josephus, *ibid* (299) many Jews also joined the army of Antiochus.

44. THE CONGREGATION: Some MSS have the great synagogue. See critical note.

45. LODGE: Heb. *melunah*.

46. MIZPEH: Robinson (Pal. 2. p. 356) thinks this is the modern *Naby Samuil*, about eight miles NE of Jerusalem. Mizpeh was a center for prayer. *Cf.* Judg. 20.1; I Sam. 7.6–9; II Kings 25.23.

48. LIKENESSES OF THEIR IDOLS: See critical note. *Cf.* also Kirkpatrick, *Journal of Phil·* 14, p. 112.

ὁμοιώματα τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν. 49καὶ ἤνεγκαν τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς
ἱερωσύνης καὶ τὰ πρωτογενήματα καὶ τὰς δεκάτας καὶ ἤγειραν
50 τοὺς ναζιραίους, οἳ ἐπλήρωσαν τὰς ἡμέρας, 50καὶ ἐβόησαν
φωνῇ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν λέγοντες Τί ποιήσωμεν τούτοις καὶ ποῦ
αὐτοὺς ἀπαγάγωμεν, 51καὶ τὰ ἅγιά σου καταπεπάτηνται καὶ
βεβήλωνται καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς σου ἐν πένθει καὶ ταπεινώσει; 52καὶ
ἰδοὺ τὰ ἔθνη συνῆκται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἐξᾶραι ἡμᾶς· σὺ οἶδας ἃ
λογίζονται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. 53πῶς δυνησόμεθα ὑποστῆναι κατὰ πρό-
σωπον αὐτῶν, ἐὰν μὴ σὺ βοηθήσῃς ἡμῖν; 54καὶ ἐσάλπισαν
55 ταῖς σάλπιγξιν καὶ ἐβόησαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. 55καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
κατέστησεν Ιουδας ἡγουμένους τοῦ λαοῦ, χιλιάρχους καὶ ἑκα-
τοντάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντάρχους καὶ δεκαδάρχους. 56καὶ εἶπεν
τοῖς οἰκοδομοῦσιν οἰκίας καὶ μνηστευομένοις γυναῖκας καὶ
φυτεύουσιν ἀμπελῶνας καὶ δειλοῖς ἀποστρέφειν ἕκαστον εἰς
τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν νόμον. 57καὶ ἀπῆρεν ἡ παρεμβολή,
καὶ παρενέβαλον κατὰ νότον Αμμαους. 58καὶ εἶπεν Ιουδας
Περιζώσασθε καὶ γίνεσθε εἰς υἱοὺς δυνατοὺς καὶ γίνεσθε
ἕτοιμοι εἰς πρωὶ τοῦ πολεμῆσαι ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τούτοις τοῖς
ἐπισυνηγμένοις ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐξᾶραι ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ ἅγια ἡμῶν·
59ὅτι κρεῖσσον ἡμᾶς ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἢ ἐπιδεῖν ἐπὶ
60 τὰ κακὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἁγίων. 60ὡς δ' ἂν ᾖ θέλημα
ἐν οὐρανῷ, οὕτως ποιήσει.

4 1Καὶ παρέλαβεν Γοργίας πεντακισχιλίους ἄνδρας καὶ
χιλίαν ἵππον ἐκλεκτήν, καὶ ἀπῆρεν ἡ παρεμβολὴ νυκτὸς
2ὥστε ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν Ιουδαίων καὶ
πατάξαι αὐτοὺς ἄφνω· καὶ υἱοὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἦσαν αὐτῷ ὁδηγοί.

IV

49 ηγειραν] ηνεγκαν 93
58 γινεσθε] γενεσθαι A
59 τω>A 311
2 των Ἰουδαιων+νυκτος L 19–93, νυκτος επιπεση τω Ἰουδα, (Jos. 12. 305)

---

49. THE FIRST FRUITS AND THE TITHES: In the early days of the Second Commonwealth the tithes were not given by the farmers to the priests but were brought to Jerusalem and there distributed among the priests. *Cf.* Neh. 10.35–40; 12.44. See also Alon, *Tarbiz*. V. 13.

55. APPOINTED OFFICERS: According to II Mac. 8.22–23 Judah divided his army into four parts. He and three brothers were to lead the army

had drawn likenesses of their idols. [49]They brought the priestly garments, and the first fruits and the tithes. They
50 shaved the Nazirites, who had fulfilled their days, [50]and cried to Heaven with a loud voice saying, "What shall we do with these men, and where shall we take them away, [51]now that Thy Temple is trodden down and profaned, and Thy priests are in sadness and humiliation? [52]See how the heathen have come together against us to destroy us. Thou knowest what they scheme against us. [53]How shall we be able to stand our ground before them, unless Thou helpest us?" [54]Then they sounded the trumpets, and shouted with a loud voice.
55 [55]After this Judah appointed officers over the people, colonels, captains, lieutenants and sergeants. [56]He ordered those who were building houses, or were betrothed to women or planting vineyards or were timid, to return each one to his own home in accordance with the Law. [57]Then the army moved and encamped to the south of Emmaus. [58]Judah said, "Gird yourselves and acquit yourselves like brave men. Be ready early in the morning to fight these heathen who have gathered against us to destroy us and our sanctuary, [59]because it is better for us to die in battle than to look upon the
60 tragedies of our nation and our sanctuary. [60]But whatever be the will in Heaven, thus shall He do."

4 Gorgias meanwhile took five thousand men and a thousand select horsemen, and his expedition marched out by night [2]so that it might fall upon the encampment of Judah and smite them suddenly. Men from the citadel served him as

---

while his other brother, Eleazar, was to read portions from the Torah to encourage the men to fight for God. COLONELS: Lit. captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, captains of fifties, and captains of tens.
56. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW: *Cf.* Deut. 20.5.
58. GIRD YOURSELVES: *I. e.*, "Prepare." *Cf.* Is. 8.9; Luke 12.35.

2. OF JUDAH: Our text has "of the Jews," but Sy has *Judah;* so also has Josephus, 12.305. See critical note. MEN FROM THE CITADEL: Lit. "the sons of the citadel"—Heb. HIS GUIDES: Josephus, 12.305, says that the Jewish refugees who were in the citadel were the guides.

[3]καὶ ἤκουσεν Ιουδας καὶ ἀπῆρεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ δυνατοὶ πατάξαι
τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἐν Αμμαους, [4]ἕως ἔτι ἐσκορπισ-
μέναι ἦσαν αἱ δυνάμεις ἀπὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς. [5]καὶ ἦλθεν
Γοργίας εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν Ιουδου νυκτὸς καὶ οὐδένα εὗρεν·
καὶ ἐζήτει αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ὅτι εἶπεν Φεύγουσιν οὗτοι
ἀφ' ἡμῶν. [6]καὶ ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ ὤφθη Ιουδας ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐν τρισ-
χιλίοις ἀνδράσιν· πλὴν καλύμματα καὶ μαχαίρας οὐκ εἶχον
ὡς ἠβούλοντο. [7]καὶ εἶδον παρεμβολὴν ἐθνῶν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ
τεθωρακισμένην καὶ ἵππον κυκλοῦσαν αὐτήν, καὶ οὗτοι διδακτοὶ
πολέμου. [8]καὶ εἶπεν Ιουδας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ Μὴ
φοβεῖσθε τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ὅρμημα αὐτῶν μὴ δειλωθῆτε·
[9]μνήσθητε ὡς ἐσώθησαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἐρυθρᾷ,
ὅτε ἐδίωκεν αὐτοὺς Φαραω ἐν δυνάμει· [10]καὶ νῦν βοήσωμεν
εἰς οὐρανόν, εἰ θελήσει ἡμᾶς καὶ μνησθήσεται διαθήκης πατέρων
καὶ συντρίψει τὴν παρεμβολὴν ταύτην κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν
σήμερον, [11]καὶ γνώσονται πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὅτι ἔστιν ὁ λυτρού-
μενος καὶ σῴζων τὸν Ισραηλ. [12]καὶ ἦραν οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι τοὺς
ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἐρχομένους ἐξ ἐναντίας
[13]καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς εἰς πόλεμον· καὶ ἐσάλπισαν
οἱ παρὰ Ιουδου [14]καὶ συνῆψαν, καὶ συνετρίβησαν τὰ ἔθνη καὶ
ἔφυγον εἰς τὸ πεδίον, [15]οἱ δὲ ἔσχατοι πάντες ἔπεσον ἐν ῥομ-
φαίᾳ. καὶ ἐδίωξαν αὐτοὺς ἕως Γαζηρων καὶ ἕως τῶν πεδίων
τῆς Ιδουμαίας καὶ Ἀζώτου καὶ Ιαμνείας, καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐξ
αὐτῶν εἰς ἄνδρας τρισχιλίους. [16]καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν Ιουδας καὶ ἡ
δύναμις ἀπὸ τοῦ διώκειν ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν [17]καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν
λαόν Μὴ ἐπιθυμήσητε τῶν σκύλων, ὅτι πόλεμος ἐξ ἐναντίας

---

6 *ειχον καθως* A
8 *δειλωθητε*] *εδεσθητε* S *δειλιασητε* 534
12 *εξερχομενους* 46
14 *εθνη*+*απο προσωπου αυτων* 55 58
15 *Ιδουμαιας*] *ιουδαιας* A 19 *iudae* B
16 *επεστρεψεν* S V

---

6. THREE THOUSAND MEN: II Mac. 8.16 has six thousand.
7. EXPERIENCE IN WAR: Heb.; *cf.* I Chron. 5.18; Song of Songs 3.8.
10. BEFORE US: Lit. "Before our face." Heb.; *cf.* Ps. 22.9.
12. THE HEATHEN: The Greek text has *allophuloi;* see Introd. p. 59.
13. TO BATTLE: Lit. "to war"; Heb.
14. CRUSHED: Historical parallels are to be found in other wars. In 490 BCE at Marathon 10,000 Athenians defeated 100,000 Persians, and in 1700 CE at Narva 8000 Swedes routed 80,000 Russians. In our own time a small, untrained Jewish army defeated five equipped Arab armies.

guides. [3]When Judah heard of this, he and his valiant men started out to attack the army of the king in Emmaus, [4]while the forces were still scattered from the camp. [5]When Gorgias entered the camp of Judah in the night and found no one, he hunted for them in the mountains, because he said, "These fellows are fleeing from us."

[6]As soon as it was daybreak, Judah was seen in the plain with three thousand men, although they had neither such armor nor swords as they would have wished. [7]They saw the strongly parapeted camp of the heathen, with horsemen who were experienced in war surrounding it. [8]Judah said to the men who were with him, "Do not fear their number, and do not be afraid of their attack. [9]Remember how our fathers were saved at the Red Sea, when Pharaoh pursued them with a host. [10]Now, then, let us cry to Heaven to see if He will have mercy upon us, and will be mindful of the testament of the fathers, and will destroy this camp before us today, [11]that all the heathen may know that there is One who will redeem and save Israel."

[12]The heathen raised their eyes and saw them coming against them. [13]They came out of the camp to battle. Judah's men sounded the trumpets [14]and joined battle. The heathen were crushed and fled to the plain, [15]while all those who were in the rear fell by the sword. They pursued them as far as Gazara and the plains of Judaea and Ashdod and Jamnia, and about three thousand men were slain.

[16]When Judah and his army returned from pursuing them, [17]he said to his men, "Do not be greedy for spoil, because

15. GAZARA: Four miles NW of Emmaus: Eus. *op. cit.* p. 66, places it four miles from Nicopolis, *i. e.*, Emmaus. PLAINS OF JUDAEA: Our text as well as Josephus had Idumaea but some MSS have Judaea, which is correct. The plain of Judaea lies SE of this battle region. ASHDOD: Modern *Esdud*, in the plain near the coast, on the road between Egypt and Syria. JAMNIA: Modern *Jabneh*, NE of Ashdod and about four miles from the coast. Eus. *op. cit.* p. 106, places it between Diospolis (Lydda) and Azotus (Esdud).

71. A BATTLE: Lit. "a war."

ἡμῶν, [18]καὶ Γοργίας καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν. ἀλλὰ στῆτε νῦν ἐναντίον τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν καὶ πολεμήσατε αὐτούς, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λάβετε τὰ σκῦλα μετὰ παρρησίας. [19]ἔτι πληροῦντος Ιουδου ταῦτα μέρος τι ὤφθη ἐκκύπτον ἐκ τοῦ
20 ὄρους· [20]καὶ εἶδεν ὅτι τετρόπωνται, καὶ ἐμπυρίζουσιν τὴν παρεμβολήν· ὁ γὰρ καπνὸς ὁ θεωρούμενος ἐνεφάνιζεν τὸ γεγονός. [21]οἱ δὲ ταῦτα συνιδόντες ἐδειλώθησαν σφόδρα· συνιδόντες δὲ καὶ τὴν Ιουδου παρεμβολὴν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἑτοίμην εἰς παράταξιν [22]ἔφυγον πάντες εἰς γῆν ἀλλοφύλων. [23]καὶ Ιουδας ἀνέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὴν σκυλείαν τῆς παρεμβολῆς, καὶ ἔλαβον χρυσίον πολὺ καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ ὑάκινθον καὶ πορφύραν θαλασσίαν καὶ πλοῦτον μέγαν. [24]καὶ ἐπιστραφέντες ὕμνουν καὶ εὐλόγουν εἰς οὐρανὸν ὅτι καλόν, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ
25 ἔλεος αὐτοῦ. [25]καὶ ἐγενήθη σωτηρία μεγάλη τῷ Ισραηλ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ.

[26]Ὅσοι δὲ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων διεσώθησαν, παραγενηθέντες ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Λυσίᾳ πάντα τὰ συμβεβηκότα. [27]ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας συνεχύθη καὶ ἠθύμει, ὅτι οὐχ οἷα ἤθελεν, τοιαῦτα ἐγεγόνει τῷ Ισραηλ, καὶ οὐχ οἷα αὐτῷ ἐνετείλατο ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐξέβη. [28]καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ἐνιαυτῷ συνελόχησεν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἑξήκοντα χιλιάδας καὶ πεντακισχιλίαν ἵππον ὥστε ἐκπολεμῆσαι αὐτούς. [29]καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Ιδουμαίαν καὶ παρενέβαλον ἐν Βαιθσουροις, καὶ συνήντησεν αὐτοῖς Ιουδας ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν

---

18 *τα σκυλα*] *σκυλα και* A
19 *λαλουντος ταυτα του* 19–93 *loquente* V
28 *εχομενω* 311 Jos. (12. 313)
29 *ιουδαιαν* S 19

---

18. IN THE MOUNTAIN: *I. e.*, in the hills of Judaea.

19. COMPLETED THESE WORDS: The text has "filled out." Apparently the Hebrew had ממלל which the translator misread מלא and hence rendered "filled."

20. THEY: The Jews.

22. PHILISTINES: *Allophuloi*: see 3.41 above.

23. BLUE: Heb. *tekhelet; cf.* Ez. 27.7. PURPLE: A purple whose color was not manufactured but developed when exposed to the rays of the sun. Kings and generals in command apparently wore purple garments. *Cf.* Judg. 8.26; Esth. 1.6; Dan. 5.7; Acts. 16.14.

24. GAVE THANKS TO HEAVEN "FOR HE IS GOOD": This is the rendering of

there is a battle before us. [18]Gorgias and his army are near us, in the mountain. Take your stand now against our enemy, and join battle with them and after that take the spoil without fear."

[19]Before Judah had completed these words, a detachment
20 was seen emerging from the mountain, [20]and saw that their side had been routed, and that they were burning the camp, for the smoke that was seen made plain what had taken place. [21]When they perceived this, they were greatly frightened, [22]and seeing also the army of Judah in the plain ready for attack, they all fled into the land of the Philistines. [23]Judah thereupon turned back to plunder the camp, and they took much gold and silver, blue, purple and chrysolite, and great riches. [24]On their return they sang a song of thanksgiving and gave thanks to Heaven, "for He is good, for His
25 mercy endureth forever." [25]And Israel had a great deliverance on that day.

[26]Those of the foreigners who were saved came and told Lysias everything that had happened. [27]When he heard it, he was confused and discouraged, because what he had wished to happen to Israel had not taken place, nor had that which the king charged him with come about.

[28]In the following year he gathered together sixty thousand picked men and five thousand horsemen to fight against them. [29]They entered Idumaea, and encamped at Beth Zur,

---

the words of the Psalmist 106.1 "Give thanks to God for He is good." The translator substituted the word "Heaven" for God and used "He" instead of God, leaving the pronoun without antecedent. *Cf.* also I Chron. 16.41.

28. IN THE FOLLOWING YEAR: *I. e.*, 48 A. S., 165–64 BCE, probably Spring of 165.

29. ENTERED IDUMAEA: So V. B. BETH ZUR: In Southern Judaea. According to Eus. (*op. cit.* p. 53) it lies about twenty miles south of Jerusalem on the road to Hebron. It was a stronghold on the site of Idumaea. *Cf.* Abel *RB* 1924, pp. 208–217. The previous campaigns against Judah were from the north. Lysias thought that the invasion of Judaea would be easier from the south and hence marched from that direction. *Cf.* O. Sellers and W. F. Albright, BASOR. Oct. 1931.

30 ἀνδρῶν. 30καὶ εἶδεν τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ προσηύξατο
καὶ εἶπεν Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, ὁ σωτὴρ Ισραηλ ὁ συντρίψας τὸ
ὅρμημα τοῦ δυνατοῦ ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ δούλου σου Δαυιδ καὶ
παρέδωκας τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων εἰς χεῖρας
Ιωναθου υἱοῦ Σαουλ καὶ τοῦ αἴροντος τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ· 31οὕτως
σύγκλεισον τὴν παρεμβολὴν ταύτην ἐν χειρὶ λαοῦ σου Ισραηλ,
καὶ αἰσχυνθήτωσαν ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ ἵππῳ αὐτῶν· 32δὸς
αὐτοῖς δειλίαν καὶ τῆξον θράσος ἰσχύος αὐτῶν, καὶ σαλευθή-
τωσαν τῇ συντριβῇ αὐτῶν· 33κατάβαλε αὐτοὺς ῥομφαίᾳ
ἀγαπώντων σε, καὶ αἰνεσάτωσάν σε πάντες οἱ εἰδότες τὸ
ὄνομά σου ἐν ὕμνοις. 34καὶ συνέβαλλον ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἔπεσον ἐκ
τῆς παρεμβολῆς Λυσίου εἰς πεντακισχιλίους ἄνδρας καὶ ἔπεσον
35 ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτῶν. 35ἰδὼν δὲ Λυσίας τὴν γενομένην τροπὴν
τῆς αὐτοῦ συντάξεως, τῆς δὲ Ιουδου τὸ γεγενημένον θάρσος
καὶ ὡς ἕτοιμοί εἰσιν ἢ ζῆν ἢ τεθνηκέναι γενναίως, ἀπῆρεν εἰς
Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐξενολόγει πλεοναστὸν πάλιν παραγίνεσθαι
εἰς τὴν Ιουδαίαν.

36Εἶπεν δὲ Ιουδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰδοὺ συνετρίβησαν
οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἡμῶν, ἀναβῶμεν καθαρίσαι τὰ ἅγια καὶ ἐγκαινίσαι.
37καὶ συνήχθη ἡ παρεμβολὴ πᾶσα καὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς ὄρος Σιων.
38καὶ εἶδον τὸ ἁγίασμα ἠρημωμένον καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον
βεβηλωμένον καὶ τὰς θύρας κατακεκαυμένας καὶ ἐν ταῖς
αὐλαῖς φυτὰ πεφυκότα ὡς ἐν δρυμῷ ἢ ὡς ἐν ἑνὶ τῶν ὀρέων
καὶ τὰ παστοφόρια καθῃρημένα. 39καὶ διέρρηξαν τὰ ἱμάτια
40 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκόψαντο κοπετὸν μέγαν καὶ ἐπέθεντο σποδὸν 40καὶ
ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐσάλπισαν ταῖς

---

30 ειπον S
33 ειδοτες] ιδοντες A 534
34 και επεσον εξ εναντιας αυτων>71 107 46 V
35 και ως ετοιμοι εισιν η ζην η τεθνηκεναι γενναιως>107 πλειονας τον πολιν γενηθεντα 542 106
36 προς τους αδελφους 55 58 L αναβωμεν εις ιερουσαλημ 58
38 θυρας] πυλας A

---

30. THE MIGHTY MAN: Goliath. *Cf.* I Sam. 17.40–54.

31. THE HAND: *I. e.*, power.

34. FIVE THOUSAND MEN: Eleven thousand, according to II Mac. 11.11. Our text has, "and they fell from before them," but this is omitted in some MSS. See critical note.

35. AND HOW READY THEY WERE EITHER TO LIVE OR TO DIE NOBLY: Some MSS correctly omit; see critical note. This clause was probably added

30 where Judah met them with ten thousand men. [30]When
he saw how strong the expedition was, he prayed and said,
"Blessed art Thou, O Savior of Israel, who staved off the
charge of the mighty man by the hand of Thy servant David,
and didst deliver the camp of the Philistines into the hands
of Jonathan son of Saul, and his armor-bearer. [31]In the same
way hem in this camp by the hand of Thy people Israel,
and let them be put to shame in spite of their army and
their horsemen. [32]Make them cowardly. Melt the boldness
of their strength. Let them quake at their destruction.
[33]Cast them down with the sword of those that love Thee, and
let all who know Thy name praise Thee with hymns."

[34]Then they fell upon each other, and there fell of the army
of Lysias about five thousand men, and they fell from before
35 them. [35]When Lysias saw the growing rout of his army, and
in turn the increasing boldness of Judah, and how ready they
were either to live or to die nobly, he marched away to
Antioch. There he levied mercenary troops in greater num-
bers so that he might come back again against Judaea.

[36]Judah and his brothers said, "Now that our enemies are
crushed, let us go up to purify and dedicate the sanctuary."

[37]The entire army gathered together and went up to Mount
Zion. [38]They saw the sanctuary desolated and the altar pro-
faned, the gates burned up, and weeds growing in the courts
as in a forest or as on one of the mountains, and the priests'
chambers torn down. [39]They tore their garments and made
40 great lamentation, and put ashes on their heads, [40]and fell
on their faces on the ground, blew solemn blasts upon the

---

later as it expresses Hellenistic rather than Jewish thought. HE MARCHED AWAY TO ANTIOCH: Lysias went to Antioch because he learned of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes and that a certain Philip was appointed regent for the son, Antiochus V. Lysias left Judaea in the Autumn of 165, after the Feast of Tabernacles. During this festival Judah and his brothers were still engaged in battle against the Syrian army and were therefore unable to celebrate it. *Cf.* II Mac. 10.6. The death of Antiochus Epiphanes occurred in October 165.

36. LET US GO: To Jerusalem. So Josephus 12.316: See critical note. Geographically Jerusalem lies higher than the rest of Judaea.

40. THE TRUMPETS: To assemble the people: *cf.* Num. 10.7.

σάλπιγξιν τῶν σημασιῶν καὶ ἐβόησαν εἰς οὐρανόν. 41τότε
ἐπέταξεν Ιουδας ἀνδράσιν πολεμεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ, ἕως
καθαρίσῃ τὰ ἅγια. 42καὶ ἐπελέξατο ἱερεῖς ἀμώμους θελητὰς
νόμου, 43καὶ ἐκαθάρισαν τὰ ἅγια καὶ ἦραν τοὺς λίθους τοῦ
μιασμοῦ εἰς τόπον ἀκάθαρτον. 44καὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τοῦ
θυσιαστηρίου τῆς ὁλοκαυτώσεως τοῦ βεβηλωμένου, τί αὐτῷ
45 ποιήσωσιν· 45καὶ ἔπεσεν αὐτοῖς βουλὴ ἀγαθὴ καθελεῖν αὐτό,
μὴποτε γένηται αὐτοῖς εἰς ὄνειδος ὅτι ἐμίαναν τὰ ἔθνη αὐτό·
καὶ καθεῖλον τὸ θυσιαστήριον 46καὶ ἀπέθεντο τοὺς λίθους ἐν
τῷ ὄρει τοῦ οἴκου ἐν τόπῳ ἐπιτηδείῳ μέχρι τοῦ παραγενηθῆναι
προφήτην τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν. 47καὶ ἔλαβον λίθους
ὁλοκλήρους κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν θυσιαστήριον
καινὸν κατὰ τὸ πρότερον. 48καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν τὰ ἅγια καὶ τὰ
ἐντὸς τοῦ οἴκου καὶ τὰς αὐλὰς ἡγίασαν 49καὶ ἐποίησαν σκεύη
ἅγια καινὰ καὶ εἰσήνεγκαν τὴν λυχνίαν καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον
50 τῶν θυμιαμάτων καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν εἰς τὸν ναόν. 50καὶ ἐθυ-
μίασαν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ἐξῆψαν τοὺς λύχνους τοὺς ἐπὶ
τῆς λυχνίας, καὶ ἔφαινον ἐν τῷ ναῷ. 51καὶ ἐπέθηκαν ἐπὶ τὴν
τράπεζαν ἄρτους καὶ ἐξεπέτασαν τὰ καταπετάσματα. καὶ
ἐτέλεσαν πάντα τὰ ἔργα, ἃ ἐποίησαν. 52καὶ ὤρθρισαν τὸ
πρωὶ τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνάτου (οὗτος ὁ μὴν
Χασελευ) τοῦ ὀγδόου καὶ τεσσαρακοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ ἔτους

---

49 θυμιαματων και > 29 107 52 ετους εβδομου και τεσσ. 58

41. IN THE CITADEL: Against the Syrians and the Jews who were in the citadel so that they should not prevent the purification and the rededication of the Temple.

42. WITHOUT BLEMISH: This expression is generally used of physical defects; here it may have the connotation of integrity and piety.

43. CARRYING OUT THE STONES: In rabbinic literature the place was called *Sorega*. Regarding this event *Megillat Taanit* says: "On the twenty-third day of Heshvan they tore down the *Sorega* from the Azarah." This day was declared a semi-holiday. *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit*, pp. 77–8.

46. IN A SUITABLE PLACE: According to Mishna Midot 1.6, the stones were secreted in one of the chambers of the Temple. UNTIL A PROPHET SHOULD COME: According to Jewish tradition prophecy ceased with Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi.

47. WHOLE STONES ACCORDING TO THE LAW: *I. e.*, undressed masonry: *cf.* Ex. 20.25; Deut. 27.5–6. Mishna Midot 3.4 explains why the altar may not be built of dressed stones: iron shortens the lives of men while the

trumpets, and cried out to Heaven. [41]Judah appointed certain men to fight against the garrison in the citadel, until he could cleanse the sanctuary. [42]He selected priests without blemish, whose delight was in the Law, [43]and they purified the sanctuary, carrying out the stones that had defiled it into an unclean place. [44]They took counsel as to what they should do about the altar of burnt offering, which had been
45 defiled. [45]A good plan occurred to them, namely, to tear it down, lest it become a reproach to them, because the heathen had defiled it. So they pulled down the altar, [46]and put away the stones in the Temple mount, in a suitable place, until a prophet should come to decide what to do with them. [47]They took whole stones, according to the Law, and constructed a new altar like the former one. [48]They built the sanctuary and the interior of the Temple, and hallowed the courts, [49]and made new holy vessels, and brought the candlestick, the altar of incense and the table into the Temple.
50 [50]They burned incense on the altar, and lit the lights on the candlestick so that they would shed light in the Temple. [51]They put loaves of bread upon the table, hung up the curtains, and finished all the work which they had undertaken to do.

[52]On the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month, that is the

---

altar is designed to lengthen their lives; and it is inappropriate to use any thing which shortens human life.

49. BROUGHT THE CANDLESTICK . . . INTO THE TEMPLE: All these were carried away by Antiochus when he entered Jerusalem in the year 170. *Cf.* above 1.21–22. According to Josephus (*Jewish Wars* 7.3.3) the treasures removed by Antiochus were later given to the Jews of Antioch.

52. ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-NINTH YEAR: *I. e.*, Kislev—December, 165 BCE. Our text reads one hundred forty-eighth, and some MSS have one hundred forty-seventh. The Peshita and Sy have one hundred forty-ninth, which is undoubtedly correct. The erroneous "one hundred forty-eighth" is easily explained by the fact that the scribe had one hundred forty-fifth before him at 1.54 and added the three years which elapsed between the defilement and the rededication of the altar. But, as we have shown, the correct reading in 1.54 is one hundred forty-sixth and the rededication accordingly took place in one hundred forty-ninth year. Josephus placed the rededication of the Temple in the year 148 A.S. and in the 154th Olympiad. For his reckoning in the Seleucidian and Olympiad eras see below App. C. 4.

53καὶ ἀνήνεγκαν θυσίαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον
τῶν ὁλοκαυτωμάτων τὸ καινόν, ὃ ἐποίησαν. 54κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν
καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ ἐβεβήλωσαν αὐτὸ τὰ ἔθνη, ἐν
ἐκείνῃ ἐνεκαινίσθη ἐν ᾠδαῖς καὶ κιθάραις καὶ κινύραις καὶ
55 κυμβάλοις. 55καὶ ἔπεσεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ πρόσωπον καὶ
προσεκύνησαν καὶ εὐλόγησαν εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸν εὐοδώσαντα
αὐτοῖς. 56καὶ ἐποίησαν τὸν ἐγκαινισμὸν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου
ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ καὶ προσήνεγκαν ὁλοκαυτώματα μετ' εὐφροσύνης
καὶ ἔθυσαν θυσίαν σωτηρίου καὶ αἰνέσεως. 57καὶ κατεκόσμησαν
τὸ κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ναοῦ στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς καὶ ἀσπιδίσ-
καις καὶ ἐνεκαίνισαν τὰς πύλας καὶ τὰ παστοφόρια καὶ
ἐθύρωσαν αὐτά. 58καὶ ἐγενήθη εὐφροσύνη μεγάλη ἐν τῷ λαῷ
σφόδρα, καὶ ἀπεστράφη ὀνειδισμὸς ἐθνῶν. 59καὶ ἔστησεν
Ιουδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησία Ισραηλ ἵνα
ἄγωνται αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐν τοῖς
καιροῖς αὐτῶν ἐνιαυτὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ ἀπὸ τῆς
πέμπτης καὶ εἰκάδος τοῦ μηνὸς Χασελευ μετ' εὐφροσύνης καὶ
60 χαρᾶς. 60καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ τὸ ὄρος Σιων
κυκλόθεν τείχη ὑψηλὰ καὶ πύργους ὀχυρούς, μήποτε παραγενη-
θέντα τὰ ἔθνη καταπατήσωσιν αὐτά, ὡς ἐποίησαν τὸ πρότερον.

---

54. AT THE SAME TIME: *I. e.*, Kislev. ON THE SAME DAY . . . HEATHEN HAD PROFANED IT: *I. e.*, the twenty-fifth. ON THAT VERY DAY: (*τη ημερα* 58 311) According to Josephus three years elapsed between the defilement and the rededication. From I Maccabees it is also evident that three years elapsed between the two events. Three Jewish years consist of 1062 days but we must include another month of 30 days for the year 167 which was an intercalated year. This would make 1092 days. This number is divisible by seven. As a matter of fact the 25th of Kislev in the year 168 BCE fell on Monday or Tuesday while the 25th of Kislev in the year 165 BCE fell on Tuesday or Wednesday. Thus when the author said "on the very day" he implies that the rededication of the Temple took place on a Tuesday. In the *Jewish Wars* 1.4; 5.9.4, Josephus says that three years and six months elapsed between the defilement and the rededication of the Temple. But there is no contradiction; the three years and six months are counted not from the time of the defiling but from the time when Antiochus captured Jerusalem and desecrated the Temple in the year 145 A.S., *i. e.*, in the Summer of 168 BCE. Actually from the time when Antiochus desecrated the sanctuary until the rededication three years and not quite five months had elapsed. The capture of Jerusalem took place during the month of Ab. Daniel referred to this when he said that twelve hundred and ninety (read thirty) days had

month of Kislev, in the one hundred and forty-ninth year, they arose early [53]and offered sacrifice according to the Law upon the new altar of burnt offering which they had made. [54]At the same time and on the same day on which the heathen had profaned it, on that very day it was consecrated
55 with songs and harps and lutes and cymbals. [55]All the people fell on their faces and prostrated themselves, and uttered praises to Heaven who had caused them to prosper. [56]They celebrated the dedication of the altar for eight days, brought burnt offerings with joy, and offered a sacrifice of deliverance and praise. [57]They also adorned the front of the Temple with golden crowns and small shields, and rededicated the gates and the priests' chambers, and fitted them with doors. [58]Thus there was great joy among the people, and the reproach caused by the heathen was removed. [59]Judah and his brothers and the entire congregation of Israel decreed that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept with gladness and joy at their due season, year after year, for eight
60 days from the twenty-fifth of the month of Kislev. [60]At that time they built high walls and strong towers around Mount Zion, so that the heathen could never again come and

---

elapsed since the daily sacrifice ceased. In another passage Daniel gave a round number, "time, times and a half," *i. e.*, three and one half years. Josephus did the same.

55. PROSTRATED: On solemn occasions prayers were accompanied by kneeling and prostration. The hands were raised towards heaven, a custom practiced among all ancient peoples.

56. EIGHT DAYS: For the celebration of eight days rather than seven, the period celebrated by Moses, Solomon and Ezra, see Introd. pp. 51–2.

58. THE REPROACH . . . WAS REMOVED: *Cf. Midrash Kohelet Rab.* 9.8.

59. THE ENTIRE CONGREGATION: The Festival of Hanukkah was inaugurated by Judah, his brothers, and the entire Jewish community. The letter which was sent to the Jews of Egypt, cited in II Maccabees, declared that the Festival of Hanukkah was instituted by Judah and the *gerousia* (Council) of Judaea. DEDICATION: *Cf.* John 11.22. FOR EIGHT DAYS: The Festival of Hanukkah has been observed by the Jews ever since. It is celebrated by the kindling of lights. One candle is lighted on the first evening and an additional one each successive day until the eighth day when eight candles are lighted. On the origin of the kindling of lights on Hanukkah see S. Zeitlin "Hanukkah", *JQR*, 1938. On the history and character of the festival see Introd. p. 50 f.

61καὶ ἀπέταξεν ἐκεῖ δύναμιν τηρεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ ὠχύρωσεν αὐτὸ τηρεῖν τὴν Βαιθσουραν τοῦ ἔχειν τὸν λαὸν ὀχύρωμα κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς Ιδουμαίας.

5 1Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἤκουσαν τὰ ἔθνη κυκλόθεν ὅτι ᾠκοδομήθη τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ἐνεκαινίσθη τὸ ἁγίασμα ὡς τὸ πρότερον, καὶ ὠργίσθησαν σφόδρα 2καὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο τοῦ ἆραι τὸ γένος Ιακωβ τοὺς ὄντας ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἤρξαντο τοῦ θανατοῦν ἐν τῷ λαῷ καὶ ἐξαίρειν. 3καὶ ἐπολέμει Ιουδας πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ησαυ ἐν τῇ Ιδουμαίᾳ, τὴν Ακραβαττήνην, ὅτι περιεκάθηντο τὸν Ισραηλ, καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς πληγὴν μεγάλην καὶ συνέστειλεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰ σκῦλα αὐτῶν. 4καὶ ἐμνήσθη τῆς κακίας υἱῶν Βαιαν, οἳ ἦσαν τῷ λαῷ εἰς παγίδα
5 καὶ σκάνδαλον ἐν τῷ ἐνεδρεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς· 5καὶ συνεκλείσθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς πύργους, καὶ παρενέβαλεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐνεπύρισε τοὺς πύργους αὐτῆς ἐν πυρὶ σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐνοῦσιν. 6καὶ διεπέρασεν ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Αμμων καὶ εὗρεν χεῖρα κραταιὰν καὶ λαὸν πολὺν καὶ Τιμόθεον ἡγούμενον αὐτῶν· 7καὶ συνῆψεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμους πολλούς, καὶ συνετρίβησαν πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτούς. 8καὶ προκατελάβετο τὴν Ιαζηρ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς καὶ ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ιουδαίαν.

9Καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν τῇ Γαλααδ ἐπὶ τὸν Ισραηλ τοὺς ὄντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐξᾶραι αὐτούς,

---

61 επαταξαν 731 αυτο τηρειν>55 58 Ιδουμαιας] ιουδαιας 55 58

V

2 γενος] σπερμα 19–93

3 Ιδουμαια] Ιουδαια A 130

5 διεσκελισθησαν 542 και διεκληθησαν 106

6 διεπερασεν+ιουδας 19 και χειρα ισχυραν S 55 58

8 ιαζωρων πολιν Jos. (12. 329)

9 δαμαθα 311

---

61. BETH ZUR: See above 29, *cf.* II Chron. 11.7.

3. AKRABATTENE: There are two places so named, one on the border of Judaea and Idumaea south of Hebron (*cf.* Num. 34.4; Josh. 15.3; Judg. 1.36), and the other, the Toparchy of Akrabattene, SE of Shechem. *Cf.* Josephus, *The Jewish Wars*, 2.235; 4.551. See Abel *RB*. 1923, p. 512.

4. BAEAN: This city is most likely the place mentioned in Num. 32.3. (*Cf.* LXX *ad. loc.*) and is hence located in Transjordania. *Cf.* also Jub. 29.10. See further Abel, 513.

destroy them, as they had done before. [61]He especially assigned a garrison there, to guard it, and fortified Beth Zur, so that the people might have a fortification facing Idumaea.

5 When the heathen around them heard that the altar had been built and the sanctuary dedicated as before, they became angry. [2]They planned to destroy the descendants of Jacob who were among them, and began to slay and destroy the people. [3]Judah made war against the sons of Esau in Idumaea and against Akrabattene, because they kept attacking Israel. He dealt them a crushing blow, and brought them low, and took spoil from them. [4]He was mindful of the evil done by the tribe of Baean, who became a snare and a stumbling block to the people by lying in ambush against them on the
5 highways. [5]He shut them up in their towers, encamped against them and swore to destroy them completely. He burned the towers with all who were in them. [6]He crossed over against the Ammonites, and found a strong and powerful army with Timotheus as their leader. [7]He fought many battles with them, and they were crushed before him, and he slaughtered them. [8]He took Jazer and its villages by surprise, then returned to Judaea.

[9]The heathen in Gilead also gathered themselves together against the Israelites who were on their borders, to destroy

---

6. AGAINST THE AMMONITES: Whose country lay NE of the Dead Sea. Hence he had to cross the Jordan to attack them. A STRONG AND POWERFUL ARMY: Lit. "a strong arm." Heb.; *cf.* Num. 20.20. TIMOTHEUS: *Cf.* II Mac. 8.30.

8. JAZER: In Transjordania; *cf.* Num. 32.3 where it is listed together with Baean and other cities. See also Is. 16.8; Jer. 48.32. According to Eus. *op. cit.* p. 104, Jazer lies fifteen miles north of Heshbon. It is west of Amman. *Cf.* further Abel p. 514; De Vaux, RB. 1938. ITS VILLAGES: Lit. "its daughters"; *cf.* Num. 21.25.

9. GILEAD: The district of Gilead comprises the land east of Jordan between the rivers Yarmuk in the north and Arnon in the South. The river Jabbok divides this region into two sections; *cf.* Josh. 22.9; Judg. 10.8. DATHEMA: "Rametha" has been suggested. According to Abel. 1923, p. 516, it is located in the center of Gilead. *Cf.* also Tosefta Sheb. 7.11. (Romata).

10 καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς Δαθεμα τὸ ὀχύρωμα [10]καὶ ἀπέστειλαν γράμματα πρὸς Ιουδαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ λέγοντες Ἐπισυνηγμένα ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔθνη κύκλῳ ἡμῶν τοῦ ἐξᾶραι ἡμᾶς [11]καὶ ἑτοιμάζονται ἐλθεῖν καὶ προκαταλαβέσθαι τὸ ὀχύρωμα, εἰς ὃ κατεφύγομεν, καὶ Τιμόθεος ἡγεῖται τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν· [12]νῦν οὖν ἐλθὼν ἐξελοῦ ἡμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτῶν, ὅτι πέπτωκεν ἐξ ἡμῶν πλῆθος, [13]καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν οἱ ὄντες ἐν τοῖς Τουβίου τεθανάτωνται, καὶ ᾐχμαλωτίκασιν τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν καὶ ἀπώλεσαν ἐκεῖ ὡσεὶ μίαν χιλιαρχίαν ἀνδρῶν. [14]ἔτι αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ ἀνεγιγνώσκοντο, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελοι ἕτεροι παρεγένοντο ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας διερρηχότες τὰ ἱμάτια ἀπαγγέλλοντες κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα
15 [15]λέγοντες ἐπισυνῆχθαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ Πτολεμαίδος καὶ Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος καὶ πᾶσαν Γαλιλαίαν ἀλλοφύλων τοῦ ἐξαναλῶσαι ἡμᾶς. [16]ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν Ιουδας καὶ ὁ λαὸς τοὺς λόγους τούτους, ἐπισυνήχθη ἐκκλησία μεγάλη βουλεύσασθαι τί ποιήσωσιν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῶν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν θλίψει καὶ πολεμουμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν. [17]καὶ εἶπεν Ιουδας Σιμωνι τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἐπίλεξον σεαυτῷ ἄνδρας καὶ πορεύου καὶ ῥῦσαι τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Ιωναθαν ὁ ἀδελφός μου πορευσόμεθα εἰς τὴν Γαλααδῖτιν. [18]καὶ κατέλιπεν Ιωσηπον τὸν τοῦ Ζαχαριου καὶ Αζαριαν ἡγούμενον τοῦ λαοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλοίπων τῆς δυνάμεως ἐν τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ εἰς τήρησιν [19]καὶ ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς λέγων Πρόστητε τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου καὶ μὴ συνάψητε πόλεμον πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη ἕως τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι

11 δυναμεως] παρεμβολης A 106
13 αιχμαλωτευκασι 64
14 διερρηγμενοι 58
17 αδελφους ημων 55 64 *fratres nostros* B
18 των ηγουμενων 64

13. TUBIAS: *Cf.* Judg. 11.3, "The Land of Tob." Joshua ben Levi, an Amora of the Third Century, states that the city of Tob is Hippos (Yer. Sheb. 6.1). *Cf.* also Tosefta Oholot, 18.4. According to Eus. *op. cit.* p. 22 it lies about twelve miles SE of Lake Tiberias; *cf.* II Maccabees 12.17, and see Abel, *ibid.*

15. PTOLEMAIS: Biblical Achu (*cf.* Judg. 1.31), modern Akko. Strabo 16.2, 25 describes Ptolemais as a large city with a sandy beach between itself and Tyre. This sand was used in making glass; *cf.* Josephus, *Jewish Wars* 2.188–191. Strabo further says that in early days it was called Ake. It is not known when the name was changed to Ptolemais, but it may be

them, but they fled to the fortress of Dathema. [10]They then
sent a letter to Judah and his brothers, saying, "The heathen
around us have united against us to destroy us. [11]They are
preparing to come and take possession of the fortress to
which we have fled for protection. Timotheus is the leader
of their army. [12]Come and rescue us from their hand, be-
cause a number of us have already fallen. [13]All our brothers
who were in the village of Tubias have been put to death.
They have carried off their wives and children and their
property, and have slain there about a thousand men."

[14]While this letter was still being read, other messengers,
with their garments torn, arrived from Galilee bringing a
similar report, saying, [15]"Men from Ptolemais, and Tyre,
and Sidon and all Galilee of the Gentiles have gathered to-
gether to destroy us." [16]When Judah and the people heard
this message, a great assembly was called together to decide
what they should do for their brothers who were in such
distress and were being attacked by them. [17]Judah said to
Simon his brother, "Choose men. Go and save our brothers
in Galilee, while my brother Jonathan and I go to Gilead."

[18]He left Joseph, son of Zechariah, and Azariah, as leaders
of the people, with the rest of the army in Judaea to guard it.
[19]He charged them saying, "Take command of this people,
but do not engage the heathen in battle until we return."

---

assumed that the city was renamed by Ptolemy II in honor of his father. GALILEE OF THE GENTILES: Upper Galilee; *cf.* Is. 8.23. LXX has *των εθνων*. Our text has *αλλοφυλων* while Josephus has *αλλογενων*. *Cf.* also Matt. 4.15.

16. A GREAT ASSEMBLY WAS BROUGHT TOGETHER: Judah and his brothers were faced with a difficult dilemma. A cry for help came to them from Galilee in the north and from Gilead in the east. In Judaea itself the Syrians and the Hellenized Jews made the situation insecure. A decision had to be taken whether to abandon their brethren in the east and north or to draw on the meager numbers of their army to send them help. For this momentous decision a great assembly was called. It was decided that Simon should go to Galilee with an army to rescue the Jews there and bring them to Judaea, since they did not constitute a large number; Judah and his brother Jonathan meanwhile were to go to Gilead and Judaea was to be entrusted to two men, Joseph and Azariah.

17. OUR BROTHERS: The text has "your brothers." See critical note.

ἡμᾶς. [20]καὶ ἐμερίσθησαν Σιμωνι ἄνδρες τρισχίλιοι τοῦ πορευθῆναι εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, Ιουδα δὲ ἄνδρες ὀκτακισχίλιοι εἰς τὴν Γαλααδῖτιν. [21]καὶ ἐπορεύθη Σιμων εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ συνῆψεν πολέμους πολλοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ συνετρίβη τὰ ἔθνη ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, [22]καὶ ἐδίωξεν αὐτοὺς ἕως τῆς πύλης Πτολεμαίδος, καὶ ἔπεσον ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς τρισχιλίους ἄνδρας, καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰ σκῦλα αὐτῶν. [23]καὶ παρέλαβεν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἐν Αρβαττοις σὺν ταῖς γυναιξὶν καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἦν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἤγαγεν εἰς τὴν Ιουδαίαν μετ' εὐφροσύνης μεγάλης. [24]καὶ Ιουδας ὁ Μακκαβαῖος καὶ Ιωναθαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ διέβησαν τὸν Ιορδάνην καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδὸν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. [25]καὶ συνήντησαν τοῖς Ναβαταίοις, καὶ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς εἰρηνικῶς καὶ διηγήσαντο αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ συμβάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλααδίτιδι [26]καὶ ὅτι πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν συνειλημμένοι εἰσὶν εἰς Βοσορρα καὶ Βοσορ ἐν Αλεμοις, Χασφω, Μακεδ καὶ Καρναιν, πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις αὗται ὀχυραὶ καὶ μεγάλαι· [27]καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς πόλεσιν τῆς Γαλααδίτιδός εἰσιν συνειλημμένοι, εἰς αὔριον τάσσονται παρεμβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ ὀχυρώματα καὶ καταλαβέσθαι καὶ ἐξᾶραι πάντας τούτους ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ. [28]καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν Ιουδας καὶ ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ ὁδὸν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον Βοσορρα ἄφνω· καὶ κατελάβετο τὴν πόλιν καὶ

---

22 των πολεων A πυλων Jos. (12. 334)
23 αραβυττοις 93 ακραβατοις γην Ιουδα 311
25 απαντα A συμβεβηκοτα A 534
27 λοιπαις] αλλαις S

---

23. ARBATTA: Situated near the Sea of Tiberias, but perhaps the Arabah mentioned in Deut. 1.7 and Josh. 11.16, and hence located in the valley of the Dead Sea. *Cf. Midrash Gen. R.* 33, Eus., *op. cited* p. 16. Klein (*Galilaa vor d. Makkabaerzeit I*) thinks that it is Narbata, which was NW of Samaria.

24. INTO THE WILDERNESS: The desert extended from Rabbat-Ammon, modern Ammon, to the River Arnon.

25. NABATAEANS: An Arab tribe of Nabaiot (*cf.* Gen. 25.13) originally located NE of the Sinai Peninsula. During the Hellenistic period they lived in Transjordania. According to Josephus, *Ant.* 1.221, the Nabataean country extended from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. Being of Semitic race, speaking Aramaic, a language cognate to that spoken by the Jews, and also being less affected by the Hellenistic culture, they remained friendly to the Jews. TOLD THEM: *I. e.*, the Nabataeans told Judah

20 [20]Three thousand men were apportioned to Simon to
make the expedition into Galilee, while there were eight
thousand men with Judah for use against Gilead. [21]Simon
went into Galilee, fought many battles with the heathen
and defeated them. [22]He pursued them to the gate of Ptole-
mais. About three thousand men of the heathen were slain,
and he plundered them. [23]He took back with him those who
were in Galilee and in Arbatta with their wives and their
children, and everything which was theirs, and brought them
into Judaea with great rejoicing.

[24]Judah Maccabee and his brother Jonathan crossed the
Jordan, and marched three days' journey into the desert.
25 [25]They met up with the Nabataeans, who came upon them
peaceably, and told them all that had happened to their
brothers in Gilead, [26]namely that many of them were shut
up in Bosorra and Bosor, in Alema, Casphor, Maked and
Carnaim—all these cities were fortified and large—[27]and
that they were closed up in the rest of the towns of Gilead.
On the next day they were drawn up to launch an attack
against the fortresses, to take them and to destroy all of them
in one day. [28]Thereupon Judah and his army turned back
suddenly by the way of the wilderness into Bosorra, took
the city, killed every male with the edge of the sword, took

---

and his men what was being done to the Jews of Gilead. THEIR BROTHERS: Josephus (336) has ομοεθνεις coreligionists, in contrast to αλλοφυλους "heathen."

26. BOSORRA: In the country of Moab; *cf.* Jer. 48.24. This city was situated SE of Edrei; *cf.* Smith, *Hist. Geog.* BOSOR: Bezer in the desert; *cf.* Deut. 4.43. ALEMA, CASPHOR, MAKED: These cities have not yet been precisely identified. See Abel *RB* 1923, 517–19. CARNAIM: *Cf.* Gen. 14.5; Deut. 1.4. According to Eus. *op.* cit. p. 12 it is some 6 mi. N of the city of Edrei.

27. THEY: The Syrians. AN ATTACK AGAINST THE FORTRESSES: *I. e.*, Dathema. The Nabataeans informed Judah that the Jews were shut up in the different cities and at the mercy of their enemies; that the Syrians contemplated attacking Dathema, which was fortified and held by the Jews; and that if they were successful in capturing it they would slaughter all the Jews there. Hence Judah dashed through the desert and made a surprise attack on Bosorra to relieve the city of Dathema.

ἀπέκτεινε πᾶν ἀρσενικὸν ἐν στόματι ῥομφαίας καὶ ἔλαβεν
πάντα τὰ σκῦλα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐνέπρησεν αὐτὴν πυρί. 29καὶ
ἀπῆρεν ἐκεῖθεν νυκτός, καὶ ἐπορεύοντο ἕως ἐπὶ τὸ ὀχύρωμα·
30 30καὶ ἐγένετο ἐωθινῇ ἦραν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ ἰδοὺ
λαὸς πολύς, οὗ οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμός, αἴροντες κλίμακας καὶ μηχανὰς
καταλαβέσθαι τὸ ὀχύρωμα καὶ ἐπολέμουν αὐτούς. 31καὶ εἶδεν
Ιουδας ὅτι ἦρκται ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέβη
ἕως οὐρανοῦ σάλπιγξιν καὶ κραυγῇ μεγάλῃ, 32καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς
ἀνδράσιν τῆς δυνάμεως Πολεμήσατε σήμερον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελ-
φῶν ἡμῶν. 33καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐν τρισὶν ἀρχαῖς ἐξόπισθεν αὐτῶν,
καὶ ἐσάλπισαν ταῖς σάλπιγξιν καὶ ἐβόησαν ἐν προσευχῇ.
34καὶ ἐπέγνω ἡ παρεμβολὴ Τιμοθέου ὅτι Μακκαβαῖός ἐστιν,
καὶ ἔφυγον ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς
πληγὴν μεγάλην, καὶ ἔπεσον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς
35 ὀκτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας. 35καὶ ἀπέκλινεν εἰς Αλεμα καὶ ἐπολέ-
μησεν αὐτὴν καὶ κατελάβετο αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν πᾶν
ἀρσενικὸν αὐτῆς καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰ σκῦλα αὐτῆς καὶ ἐνέπρησεν
αὐτὴν ἐν πυρί. 36ἐκεῖθεν ἀπῆρεν καὶ προκατελάβετο τὴν
Χασφω, Μακεδ καὶ Βοσορ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις τῆς Γαλαα-
δίτιδος. 37μετὰ δὲ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα συνήγαγεν Τιμόθεος
παρεμβολὴν ἄλλην καὶ παρενέβαλεν κατὰ πρόσωπον Ραφων
ἐκ πέραν τοῦ χειμάρρου. 38καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Ιουδας κατασκο-
πεῦσαι τὴν παρεμβολήν, καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες
Ἐπισυνηγμένα εἰσὶν πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ κύκλῳ
ἡμῶν, δύναμις πολλὴ σφόδρα· 39καὶ Ἄραβας μεμίσθωνται
εἰς βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς καὶ παρεμβάλλουσιν πέραν τοῦ χειμάρρου
ἕτοιμοι τοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ σὲ εἰς πόλεμον. καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ιουδας εἰς
40 συνάντησιν αὐτῶν. 40καὶ εἶπεν Τιμόθεος τοῖς ἄρχουσιν τῆς
δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν Ιουδαν καὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν
αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν χειμάρρουν τοῦ ὕδατος Ἐὰν διαβῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς

---

30 εγενετο εως εωθινης ημερας 311
31 και σαλπιγξ και κραυγη S
35 Αλεμα] Μασφα S μελλα Jos. (12. 340)
39 μεμυθωνται 93
40 και την παρεμβολην αυτου>71

---

29. ARRIVED AT THE STRONGHOLD: *I. e.*, Dathema.
35. ALEMA: See critical note.
37. RAPHON: Near Carnaim. According to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 5.16, Rophana was one of the cities of the Decapolis. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.342, speaks of it

all their spoil, and burned it down. [29]He left there by night,
30 and arrived at the stronghold. [30]When it was daybreak, they
raised their eyes and saw a great multitude, raising ladders
and engines to take the fortress, and they attacked them.
[31]When Judah saw that the battle had begun, and the din
from the city went up to heaven, with trumpet blasts and a
great outcry, [32]he said to the men of his army, "Fight today
for our brothers!"

[33]He went out after them in three companies, sounded the
trumpets, and cried aloud in prayer. [34]The army of Timotheus
recognized that it was Maccabee, and fled before him. He
smote them a great blow, and on that day about eight
35 thousand men were slain. [35]Then he turned aside to Alema
and attacked it. He captured it and killed every male in it,
plundered it, and burned it down. [36]From there he set out
and took Casphor, Maked, Bosor and the rest of the towns
of Gilead in surprise attacks.

[37]After that, Timotheus collected another army, and pitched
his camp before Raphon on the other side of the moun-
tain-stream. [38]Judah sent (men) to spy out the camp; and
they reported back to him, saying, "All the heathen around
us have gathered together a very powerful army. [39]They
have hired Arab mercenaries to help them. They are en-
camped on the other side of the brook, ready to launch an
40 attack against you." [40]Judah went to meet them. Timotheus
said to the officers of his force, when Judah and his army
drew near the waterbrook, "If he should cross over to us

---

as an important city. *Cf.* W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 1925. ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MOUNTAIN-STREAM: A tributary of the river Yarmuk, fed by the melting snows of the mountain, but dry during the winter and spring.

39. HAVE HIRED ARAB MERCENARIES: *Cf.* II Mac. 12.10. During the Hasmonaean period the Arabs were not hostile to the Jews; they were ready to serve any state as mercenaries so long as they were well paid and allowed to take booty.

40. IF HE SHOULD CROSS OVER TO US: Timotheus said that if Judah and his army crossed the brook the victory would be theirs, and the reverse if he hesitated. For the omen *cf.* I Sam. 14.7–10.

πρότερος, οὐ δυνησόμεθα ὑποστῆναι αὐτόν, ὅτι δυνάμενος δυνήσεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς· 41ἐὰν δὲ δειλανθῇ καὶ παρεμβάλῃ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, διαπεράσομεν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ δυνησόμεθα πρὸς αὐτόν. 42ὡς δὲ ἤγγισεν Ιουδας ἐπὶ τὸν χειμάρρουν τοῦ ὕδατος, ἔστησεν τοὺς γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ χειμάρρου καὶ ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς λέγων Μὴ ἀφῆτε πάντα ἄνθρωπον παρεμβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐρχέσθωσαν πάντες εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. 43καὶ διεπέρασεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πρότερος καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὄπισθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνετρίβησαν πρὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἔρριψαν τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν καὶ ἔφυβον εἰς τὸ τέμενος Καρναιν. 44καὶ προκατελάβοντο τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐνεπύρισαν ἐν πυρὶ σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἐτροπώθη Καρναιν, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο ἔτι ὑποστῆναι κατὰ πρόσωπον
45 Ιουδου. 45καὶ συνήγαγεν Ιουδας πάντα Ισραηλ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλααδίτιδι ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευήν, παρεμβολὴν μεγάλην σφόδρα, ἐλθεῖν εἰς γῆν Ιουδα. 46καὶ ἦλθον ἕως Εφρων, καὶ αὕτη πόλις μεγάλη ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὀχυρὰ σφόδρα, οὐκ ἦν ἐκκλῖναι ἀπ' αὐτῆς δεξιὰν ἢ ἀριστεράν, ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ μέσου αὐτῆς πορεύεσθαι· 47καὶ ἀπέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐνέφραξαν τὰς πύλας λίθοις. 48καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ιουδας λόγοις εἰρηνικοῖς λέγων Διελευσόμεθα διὰ τῆς γῆς σου τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐδεὶς κακοποιήσει ὑμᾶς, πλὴν τοῖς ποσὶν παρελευσόμεθα. καὶ οὐκ ἠβούλοντο ἀνοῖξαι αὐτῷ. 49καὶ ἐπέταξεν Ιουδας κηρύξαι ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ

41 δειλιαση 58
42 επι του χειμαρρουν>71
44 πολιν+οι περι τον Ιουδαν 19 93 conprehendit iudas B
46 ισχυρα A

42. THE OFFICERS: The text has "the scribes." The translator followed LXX which renders שוטרים in Deut. 20.5 by γραμματεις scribes. DO NOT PERMIT ANY ONE TO ENCAMP: Judah ordered the officers not to permit any one to remain on the near side of the brook but to compel every one to cross it. Either Judah heard the order of Timotheus or he himself decided to take the enemy by surprise. Why did not Timotheus try to prevent the army of Judah from crossing? Perhaps Timotheus never made the declaration, which may be a fiction suggested by Jonathan's similar omen in I Sam. 14.7–10.

43. THREW AWAY THEIR ARMS: The sign of a rout. *Cf.* Horace, *Odes*,

first, we shall not be able to withstand him, for he will surely prevail against us. [41]If, on the contrary, he should be afraid and encamp on the other side of the river, we will cross over against him and prevail over him."

[42]When Judah came near the waterbrook, he stationed the officers of the army by the stream, and charged them saying, "Do not permit anyone to encamp, but let everyone go into battle."

[43]Then he crossed over against them first, with all his army behind him, and all the heathen were crushed before them. They threw away their arms, and fled to the precincts of the Temple of Carnaim. [44]They took the city, and burned down the Temple precinct with all who were in it. Carnaim was conquered, and they could no longer make a stand before Judah.

45 [45]Judah then gathered together all the Israelites who were in Gilead from small to great, with their wives, their children and their possessions, a very great camp, to return to the land of Judah. [46]They came to Ephron, which was a large city on the road, strongly fortified. It was impossible to turn aside from it either to the right or to the left. They had to go right through the middle of it. [47]The inhabitants of the city, however, closed them out, and blocked up the gates with stones. [48]Judah sent a messenger to them with peaceful words saying, "We wish to pass through your country in order to go to ours. No one will harm you; we shall only pass through on foot."

But they refused to open to him. [49]Then Judah com-

2.7, 9., *Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam sensi relicta non bene parmula, cum fracta Virtus et minaces turpe solum tetigere mento.* THE TEMPLE OF CARNAIM: According to II Maccabees 12.26 this temple was dedicated to the goddess Atergatis (the fish goddess).

46. EPHRON: Situated in the valley between Ashtaroth and the Jordan, east of Scythopolis (Hebrew Beth Shean). Its location explains why it was hard for Judah "to turn aside from it either to the right or to the left," hence he asked the inhabitants to permit him to pass through the city. *Cf.* Grimm *ad. loc.* Ewald (*Geschichte*) identified Ephron with Gephrum which was captured by Antiochus III in his war with Ptolemy Philopator; *cf.* Polybius 5.70.

50 τοῦ παρεμβαλεῖν ἕκαστον ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν τόπῳ· [50]καὶ παρενέβαλον
οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ ἐπολέμησεν τὴν πόλιν ὅλην τὴν
ἡμέραν ἐκείνην καὶ ὅλην τὴν νύκτα, καὶ παρεδόθη ἡ πόλις ἐν
χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. [51]καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πᾶν ἀρσενικὸν ἐν στόματι
ῥομφαίας καὶ ἐξερρίζωσεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰ σκῦλα αὐτῆς
καὶ διῆλθεν διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπάνω τῶν ἀπεκταμμένων. [52]καὶ
διέβησαν τὸν Ιορδάνην εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ μέγα κατὰ πρόσωπον
Βαιθσαν. [53]καὶ ἦν Ιουδας ἐπισυνάγων τοὺς ἐσχατίζοντας
καὶ παρακαλῶν τὸν λαὸν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδόν, ἕως ἦλθεν
εἰς γῆν Ιουδα. [54]καὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς ὄρος Σιων ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ
χαρᾷ καὶ προσήγαγον ὁλοκαυτώματα, ὅτι οὐκ ἔπεσεν ἐξ
αὐτῶν οὐθεὶς ἕως τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

55 [55]Καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἐν αἷς ἦν Ιουδας καὶ Ιωναθαν ἐν γῇ
Γαλααδ καὶ Σιμων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ κατὰ
πρόσωπον Πτολεμαίδος, [56]ἤκουσεν Ιωσηφ ὁ τοῦ Ζαχαριου
καὶ Αζαριας ἄρχοντες τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν ἀνδραγαθιῶν καὶ
τοῦ πολέμου, οἷα ἐποίησαν, [57]καὶ εἶπον Ποιήσωμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἑαυτοῖς ὄνομα καὶ πορευθῶμεν πολεμῆσαι πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη τὰ
κύκλῳ ἡμῶν. [58]καὶ παρήγγειλεν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς
μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἐπὶ Ιάμνειαν. [59]καὶ ἐξῆλθεν
Γοργίας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ εἰς συνάντησιν
60 αὐτοῖς εἰς πόλεμον. [60]καὶ ἐτροπώθη Ιωσηπος καὶ Αζαριας, καὶ
ἐδιώχθησαν ἕως τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Ιουδαίας, καὶ ἔπεσον ἐν τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ Ισραηλ εἰς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας.
[61]καὶ ἐγενήθη τροπὴ μεγάλη ἐν τῷ λαῷ, ὅτι οὐκ ἤκουσαν
Ιουδου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ οἰόμενοι ἀνδραγαθῆσαι· [62]αὐτοὶ

---

50 δυναμεως] πολεως A
56 ανδραγαθεσεων A
61 λαω Ισραηλ 62 340 Ιουδου A ανδραγαθημασι 19+αυτον A

52. THE GREAT PLAIN: The valley between the Jordan and Mount Gilboa. BETH SHEAN: Modern Beisan. During the Greek period its name was changed to Scythopolis: *cf. Ant.* 12.348. It was the only city of the Decapolis situated west of the Jordan. *Cf. Midrash Gen. R* 98.22; Tal. Hull. 6 b; Pes. 50b.

58. JAMNIA: See above 4.15.

59. GORGIAS: *Cf.* II Maccabees 8.9, where Gorgias is described as "one that had experience in matters of war."

60. OF THE ARMY OF ISRAEL: Our text has, "the people of Israel." *Cf.* LXX Joshua 10.5.

manded that orders be given throughout the camp that everyone should encamp wherever he happened to be.
50 [50]The men of the army set camp, and he fought against the city that entire day and night, and the city was delivered into his hands. [51]He destroyed every male with the edge of the sword. He uprooted the city, plundered it, and passed through the city over those who were slain. [52]They then crossed the Jordan to the great plain opposite Beth Shean. [53]Judah kept gathering together the stragglers and encouraged the people along the entire road, until he came to the land of Judah. [54]There they went up to Mount Zion with gladness and joy and offered burnt offerings, because not even one of them had fallen before they returned in peace.
55 [55]During the time when Judah and Jonathan were in Gilead and his brother Simon was in Galilee, before Ptolemais, [56]Joseph, son of Zechariah, and Azariah, the leaders of the people, heard of the exploits and of the battle which they had conducted, [57]and they said, "Let us also make a reputation for ourselves. Let us go and fight against the heathen around us."

[58]They gave orders to the division of the army that was with them, and marched against Jamnia. [59]Gorgias came out
60 of the city with his men to meet them in battle. [60]Joseph and Azariah were put to flight, and were pursued to the borders of Judaea, and about two thousand men of the army of Israel were slain on that day. [61]This great rout befell the army because they did not obey Judah and his brothers, imagining that they could perform some heroic deed. [62]They

62. THEY WERE NOT OF THE FAMILY OF THOSE MEN: *I. e.*, Not of the family of the Hasmonaeans. Josephus does not mention this, but says they were defeated because "they disobeyed the instructions of Judas . . . One might well admire him also for having foreseen that such a reverse would come to the men . . . if they departed in any respect from instructions given them." Either Josephus ignored the reason of I Maccabees or he did not find it in his text. Since the book was edited after the destruction of the Temple there is a likelihood that this passage was added by the editor in order to show that the Hasmonaean family was chosen for "saving the people of Israel." See Introd. pp. 27–32.

δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων, οἷς ἐδόθη σωτηρία Ισραηλ διὰ χειρὸς αὐτῶν.

63Καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ Ιουδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐδοξάσθησαν σφόδρα ἔναντι παντὸς Ισραηλ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν πάντων, οὗ ἠκούετο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν· 64καὶ ἐπισυνήγοντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς
65 εὐφημοῦντες. 65καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Ιουδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπολέμουν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ησαυ ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ πρὸς νότον καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὴν Χεβρων καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς καὶ καθεῖλεν τὰ ὀχυρώματα αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς πύργους αὐτῆς ἐνεπύρισεν κυκλόθεν. 66καὶ ἀπῆρεν τοῦ πορευθῆναι εἰς γῆν ἀλλοφύλων καὶ διεπορεύετο τὴν Μαρισαν. 67ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἔπεσον ἱερεῖς ἐν πολέμῳ βουλόμενοι ἀνδραγαθῆσαι ἐν τῷ αὐτοὺς ἐξελθεῖν εἰς πόλεμον ἀβουλεύτως. 68καὶ ἐξέκλινεν Ιουδας εἰς Ἄζωτον γῆν ἀλλοφύλων καὶ καθεῖλεν τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ γλυπτὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν κατέκαυσεν πυρὶ καὶ ἐσκύλευσεν τὰ σκῦλα τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς γῆν Ιουδα.

6 1Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος διεπορεύετο τὰς ἐπάνω χώρας καὶ ἤκουσεν ὅτι ἐστὶν Ἐλυμαΐς ἐν τῇ Περσίδι πόλις ἔνδοξος πλούτῳ, ἀργυρίῳ καὶ χρυσίῳ· 2καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ πλούσιον σφόδρα, καὶ ἐκεῖ καλύμματα χρυσᾶ καὶ θώρακες καὶ ὅπλα, ἃ κατέλιπεν ἐκεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τοῦ Φιλίππου ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Μακεδών, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι. 3καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ ἐζήτει καταλαβέσθαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ προνομεῦσαι αὐτήν, καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνάσθη, ὅτι ἐγνώσθη ὁ λόγος τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, 4καὶ ἀντέστησαν αὐτῷ εἰς πόλεμον, καὶ ἔφυγεν

63 εναντιον A
66 σαμαρειαν S A

VI

1 εν ελυμαις 106 340 εν λυμαις 46
2 πρωτος εν αυτοις τοις ελλησι πρωτος A
3 και προνομευσαι αυτην> 107
4 αντισχοντων Jos. (355)

65. HEBRON: Ancient Kiriath Arba, situated about twenty miles south of Jerusalem. AND ITS VILLAGES: Lit. "its daughters."

66. THE PHILISTINES: The Greek text has αλλοφυλων. MARISA: In the valley of Judaea. *Cf.* Josh. 15.44. The text has Samaria; Josephus (Ant. 12.353) gives Marisa. The Latin L and B also have Marisa, which is unquestionably the correct reading. Marisa was on Judah's line of march from Hebron to Ashdod, whereas Samaria was too far North. There was no reason for such a detour.

were not of the family of those men into whose keeping was entrusted the power of saving Israel.

63This man Judah and his brothers were highly esteemed in all Israel and among all the heathen wherever their name was mentioned, 64and people gathered around them to extol them.

65 65Then Judah and his brothers went out and waged war against the sons of Esau in the land toward the South, destroyed Hebron and its villages, razed its fortifications, and burned down the towers around it. 66Then he set out to go to the land of the Philistines, and went through Marisa. 67On that day some priests, wishing to distinguish themselves, fell in battle when they went out to fight ill-advisedly. 68Judah turned aside to Ashdod, to the land of the Philistines, pulled down their altars, burned up the carved images of their gods, plundered the cities, and then returned to the land of Judah.

6 While King Antiochus was making his way through the upper countries, he heard that there was a city in Persia called Elymais famous for its wealth, its silver and gold. 2The temple in it was very rich, containing golden shields, breastplates and arms which Alexander, son of Philip the king of Macedonia, who was the first to rule over the Greeks, had left there. 3He went and sought to take the city and to plunder it, but was not able to do so because the plan had become known to the inhabitants. 4They rose up against him in

---

67. ON THAT DAY SOME PRIESTS: This verse is out of place and interrupts the continuity of the story. Josephus omits it entirely. WENT OUT TO FIGHT ILL-ADVISEDLY: II Mac. 12.40 says that their death was punishment for having concealed upon their persons articles taken from the idols of Jamnia.
68. ASHDOD: See above 4.15.

1. THE UPPER COUNTRIES: Persia. This verse is a continuation from 3.37. ELYMAIS: The province Elymais was situated between Media and the Persian Gulf. *Cf.* Tobit 2.10 and also Daniel 8.2.
2. TEMPLE: From II Maccabees it appears that this was a Temple of Nana. Josephus, following Polybius, calls the temple Artemis'; *cf.* also Appian, 66. OVER THE GREEKS: See above 1.1.

καὶ ἀπῆρεν ἐκεῖθεν μετὰ λύπης μεγάλης ἀποστρέψαι εἰς
5 Βαβυλῶνα. 5καὶ ἦλθέν τις ἀπαγγέλλων αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν Περσίδα
ὅτι τετρόπωνται αἱ παρεμβολαὶ αἱ πορευθεῖσαι εἰς γῆν
Ιουδα, 6καὶ ἐπορεύθη Λυσίας δυνάμει ἰσχυρᾷ ἐν πρώτοις καὶ
ἐνετράπη ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπίσχυσαν ὅπλοις καὶ
δυνάμει καὶ σκύλοις πολλοῖς, οἷς ἔλαβον ἀπὸ τῶν παρεμβολῶν,
ὧν ἐξέκοψαν, 7καὶ καθεῖλον τὸ βδέλυγμα, ὃ ᾠκοδόμησεν
ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ ἐν Ιερουσαλημ, καὶ τὸ ἁγίασμα
καθὼς τὸ πρότερον ἐκύκλωσαν τείχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς καὶ τὴν
Βαιθσουραν πόλιν αὐτοῦ. 8καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς
τοὺς λόγους τούτους, ἐθαμβήθη καὶ ἐσαλεύθη σφόδρα καὶ
ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην καὶ ἐνέπεσεν εἰς ἀρρωστίαν ἀπὸ τῆς
λύπης, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ καθὼς ἐνεθυμεῖτο. 9καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ
ἡμέρας πλείους, ὅτι ἀνεκαινίσθη ἐπ' αὐτὸν λύπη μεγάλη, καὶ
10 ἐλογίσατο ὅτι ἀποθνήσκει. 10καὶ ἐκάλεσεν πάντας τοὺς φίλους
αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς Ἀφίσταται ὁ ὕπνος ἀπὸ τῶν
ὀφθαλμῶν μου, καὶ συμπέπτωκα τῇ καρδίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς μερίμνης,
11καὶ εἶπα τῇ καρδίᾳ Ἕως τίνος θλίψεως ἦλθα καὶ κλύδωνος
μεγάλου, ἐν ᾧ νῦν εἰμι; ὅτι χρηστὸς καὶ ἀγαπώμενος ἤμην
ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ μου. 12νῦν δὲ μιμνήσκομαι τῶν κακῶν, ὧν
ἐποίησα ἐν Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἔλαβον πάντα τὰ σκεύη τὰ
ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χρυσᾶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἐξαπέστειλα ἐξᾶραι
τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ιουδα διὰ κενῆς. 13ἔγνων ὅτι χάριν τούτων
εὗρέν με τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀπόλλυμαι λύπῃ μεγάλῃ
ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ. 14καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Φίλιππον ἕνα τῶν φίλων

---

5 τις αυτω εις A
6 επορευθη] ανετραπη Hippol. on Dan. IV 46–7
7 πολιν αυτου>S
12 ων εποιησα κακων S
14 φιλων] δουλων 23

---

5. THE EXPEDITIONS . . . HAD BEEN PUT TO FLIGHT: *I. e.*, the armies of Seron, Nicanor, and Gorgias.

7. THE ABOMINATION: The messenger could not have said "abomination" but must have used "Zeus" or a similar name. The term is the author's own. In the Talmud the term "idols" is used for "deities"; *cf.* Ex. 23.13; Talmud Sanh. 63.

9. DEPRESSION: Melancholy. Polybius 31.9 called it madness. According to II Maccabees 9.5, Antiochus became physically ill.

11. DESERVING AND BELOVED WAS I IN MY AUTHORITY: Antiochus Epiphanes was generally popular in Syria. His policy of Hellenization did

battle, and he fled. He set out from there with great distress
to return to Babylon.
5 [5]Some one came to announce to him in Persia that the ex-
peditions that had marched into the land of Judah had been
put to flight, [6]that Lysias, heading a strong force, had been
put to flight before them; that they had become strong be-
cause of the arms, materiel and much spoil which they took
from the armies which they had destroyed; [7]that they had
pulled down the abomination which he had constructed on
the altar in Jerusalem; and that they had surrounded the
sanctuary with high walls, as it had been before, and also his
city Beth Zur. [8]When the king heard this news, he was struck
with amazement and greatly shaken. He fell upon his bed and
lapsed into a lingering illness because of grief, for things had
not happened for him as he had desired. [9]There he remained
for many days, because waves of depression swept over him,
10 and he thought that he was going to die. [10]He summoned all
his friends and said to them, [11]"'Sleep has left my eyes. My
heart breaks with care. I say to myself, 'To what state of
affliction have I come! What a great flood am I now in!
Deserving and beloved was I in my authority. [12]Now how-
ever, I recall the evils that I did in Jerusalem, when I took
all the silver and gold vessels that were in it, and sent forth
to destroy the inhabitants of Judah for no reason. [13]I know
that it is because of this that these evils have befallen me;
and here I am dying in great sadness in a strange land.' "
[14]Then he called Philip, one of his Friends, and put him in

not evoke opposition among the inhabitants since they were polytheists. The only people who resisted Antiochus' policy were the Jews. Being monotheists they looked upon other deities as abominations.

13. DYING IN GREAT SADNESS: Antiochus believed that his death was on account of his despoiling the Temple. Polybius 31.9 attributes Antiochus' death to his wish to despoil the temple of Artemis in Persia. On this Josephus (358–9) comments, "But although Polybius may think that Antiochus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that the king died because of sacrilegiously destroying the Temple in Jerusalem." IN A STRANGE LAND: Although Persia was considered a part of the domain of Antiochus he considered it a strange land nevertheless, since it was not Greece.

14. HIS FRIENDS: His courtiers.

αὐτοῦ καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ·
15 [15]καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν
δακτύλιον τοῦ ἀγαγεῖν Ἀντίοχον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκθρέψαι
αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλεύειν. [16]καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐκεῖ Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασι-
λεὺς ἔτους ἐνάτου καὶ τεσσαρακοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ. [17]καὶ
ἐπέγνω Λυσίας ὅτι τέθνηκεν ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ κατέστησεν
βασιλεύειν Ἀντίοχον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἐξέθρεψεν νεώτερον,
καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Εὐπάτωρ.

[18]Καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἦσαν συγκλείοντες τὸν Ισραηλ κύκλῳ
τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ζητοῦντες κακὰ δι' ὅλου καὶ στήριγμα τοῖς
ἔθνεσιν. [19]καὶ ἐλογίσατο Ιουδας ἐξᾶραι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξεκκλησίασε
20 πάντα τὸν λαὸν τοῦ περικαθίσαι ἐπ' αὐτούς· [20]καὶ συνήχθησαν
ἅμα καὶ περιεκάθισαν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἔτους πεντηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοσ-
τοῦ, καὶ ἐποίησεν βελοστάσεις καὶ μηχανάς. [21]καὶ ἐξῆλθον
ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ συγκλεισμοῦ, καὶ ἐκολλήθησαν αὐτοῖς τινες
τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐξ Ισραηλ, [22]καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
καὶ εἶπον Ἕως πότε οὐ ποιήσῃ κρίσιν καὶ ἐκδικήσεις τοὺς
ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν; [23]ἡμεῖς εὐδοκοῦμεν δουλεύειν τῷ πατρί σου
καὶ πορεύεσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις καὶ κατακολουθεῖν
τοῖς προστάγμασιν αὐτοῦ. [24]καὶ περιεκάθηντο ἐπ' αὐτὴν οἱ
υἱοὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ἡμῶν χάριν τούτου καὶ ἠλλοτριοῦντο ἀφ' ἡμῶν·
πλὴν ὅσοι εὑρίσκοντο ἐξ ἡμῶν, ἐθανατοῦντο, καὶ αἱ κληρο-
25 νομίαι ἡμῶν διηρπάζοντο. [25]καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μόνον ἐξέτειναν
χεῖρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ὅρια αὐτῶν· [26]καὶ ἰδοὺ παρεμ-

---

20 και συνηχθησαν — αυτην>A
24 οτι οι του λαου τουτου 44 74
25 αυτων] τα ορια ημων, *nostros*, V, *Suos* B

---

15. HIS SIGNET RING: In the ancient Orient the conveyance of the signet ring signified the transfer of authority. *Cf.* Gen. 41.42, Esth. 3.10. Alexander the Great before his death is said to have given his signet ring to Perdiccas, thereby expressing the wish that he succeed him. According to Josephus, *Ant.* 20, 2.2, Queen Helena of Adiabene gave her husband's ring to Monobazus, thus declaring him king. TO REAR: According to Josephus *Ant.* 12.360 before Antiochus died he appointed Philip regent, and requested him to look after his son's education and guard the kingdom for him. Earlier this position was entrusted to Lysias who actually governed in the absence of Antiochus IV. What caused the king to change his mind is not known. TO BECOME KING: Antiochus V was nine years of age at the death of his father; *cf.* Appian *Syrian Wars* 46.

charge over all his kingdom. [15]He gave him his crown, his robe
and signet ring, with authority to bring up Antiochus his son
and to rear him to become king. [16]King Antiochus died there,
in the one hundred and forty-ninth year. [17]When Lysias heard
that the king had died, he set up Antiochus his son, whom he
had reared from childhood, as king and named him Eupator.
[18]Now the garrison in the citadel kept hemming Israel in
around the sanctuary, seeking to do damage continually and
lending support to the heathen. [19]Judah made up his mind
to destroy them, and he called all the people together to be-
siege them. [20]They assembled and laid siege to it in the one
hundred and fiftieth year, and he built batteries of warlike
engines and missile throwers. [21]Some of them escaped from
the blockade, and some of the godless of Israel joined them.
[22]They went to the king, and complained, "How long will
you neglect to do justice and avenge our brothers? [23]We
were content to serve your father, and to walk in accordance
with his orders and to follow his commands. [24]Because of
this, our people have become estranged from us and have
laid siege to the citadel. Besides, as many of us as they find
they put to death, and seize our possessions. [25]Not only
have they stretched forth their hand against us, but also
against all our borders. [26]Why this very day they have be-

16. ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-NINTH YEAR: *I. e.*, October 165 BCE. *Cf.* Niese *Geschichte* 3, p. 218. Antiochus died about two months before the rededication of the Temple. Eusebius gives the date Olympiad 154, 1 = October 165–164. *Cf.* below App. C.

17. EUPATOR: Of a noble father. According to Appian, *ibid.*, Antiochus V was called Eupator for the valor of his father Antiochus IV. See Introd. pp. 9–10.

18. SEEKING TO DO DAMAGE: According to Josephus (362) the Jewish exiles who fled from Judah and entrenched themselves in the citadel caused great harm to the followers of the Hasmoneans.

20. IN THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH YEAR: 164–163 BCE; probably Spring of 163.

21. ESCAPED FROM THE BLOCKADE: Josephus (264) says that these irreligious men escaped during the night and went to Antiochus, *i. e.*, to Lysias, who was the regent.

25. OUR BORDERS: V *Nostros*, B *Suos*. The text has "their borders." See critical note.

βεβλήκασι σήμερον ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἐν Ιερουσαλημ τοῦ καταλαβέσθαι αὐτήν· καὶ τὸ ἁγίασμα καὶ τὴν Βαιθσουραν ὠχύρωσαν· [27]καὶ ἐὰν μὴ προκαταλάβῃ αὐτοὺς διὰ τάχους, μείζονα τούτων ποιήσουσιν, καὶ οὐ δυνήσῃ τοῦ κατασχεῖν αὐτῶν.

[28]Καὶ ὠργίσθη ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅτε ἤκουσεν, καὶ συνήγαγεν πάντας τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντας δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἡνιῶν· [29]καὶ ἀπὸ βασιλειῶν ἑτέρων καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων
30 θαλασσῶν ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν δυνάμεις μισθωταί· [30]καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ ἑκατὸν χιλιάδες πεζῶν καὶ εἴκοσι χιλιάδες ἱππέων καὶ ἐλέφαντες δύο καὶ τριάκοντα εἰδότες πόλεμον. [31] καὶ ἦλθον διὰ τῆς Ιδουμαίας καὶ παρενέβαλον ἐπὶ Βαιθσουραν καὶ ἐπολέμησαν ἡμέρας πολλὰς καὶ ἐποίησαν μηχανάς· καὶ ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἐνεπύρισαν αὐτὰς πυρὶ καὶ ἐπολέμησαν ἀνδρωδῶς. [32]καὶ ἀπῆρεν Ιουδας ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ παρενέβαλεν εἰς Βαιθζαχαρια ἀπέναντι τῆς παρεμβολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως. [33]καὶ ὤρθρισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ πρωὶ καὶ ἀπῆρεν τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐν ὁρμήματι αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Βαιθζαχαρια, καὶ διεσκευάσθησαν αἱ δυνάμεις εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐσάλπισαν ταῖς σάλπιγξιν. [34]καὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν ἔδειξαν αἷμα σταφυλῆς καὶ μόρων τοῦ παραστῆσαι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν
35 πόλεμον. [35]καὶ διεῖλον τὰ θηρία εἰς τὰς φάλαγγας καὶ παρέστησαν ἑκάστῳ ἐλέφαντι χιλίους ἄνδρας τεθωρακισμένους ἐν ἀλυσιδωτοῖς, καὶ περικεφαλαῖαι χαλκαῖ ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν

---

28 ηνιων] μηνιων A οριων και τους επι των πραγματων 58

31 επι ημερας A τον Βεθσουραιων Jos. (12. 368) και εξηλθον+οι υιοι Ισραηλ 55 311 *de populo israhel*, B

---

30. ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND INFANTRY: So Josephus, but doubtless an exaggeration. THIRTY-TWO ELEPHANTS: According to Polybius, 21.42, Appian 38, and Livy 38.38, the peace treaty between the Romans and Antiochus III after his defeat in the Battle of Magnesia (190 BCE) did not allow the Syrians the use of elephants in warfare. This clause of the treaty was not enforced by the Romans until after the death of Antiochus IV. In the early part of 162 BCE the Romans sent an embassy, under the leadership of Octavius, to burn the ships and destroy the elephants. The Senate thought that since Antiochus V was still a child there would be no strong opposition to the enforcement of the treaty (*cf.* Polybius 31.2).

sieged the citadel in Jerusalem, to take it over, and they have fortified the sanctuary and Beth Zur. [27]Unless you stop them at once, they will do more than this, and you will not be able to check them."

[28]The king was very angry when he heard this. He gathered all his friends, the officers of his army, and those in command of the cavalry. [29]Mercenary troops came to him from other
30 kingdoms and from islands of the sea. [30]The number of his troops was one hundred thousand infantry, twenty thousand cavalry, and thirty-two elephants trained for war. [31]They passed through Idumaea, and encamped against Bethsura, and fought against (it) for many days, and constructed engines of war. The Israelites sallied forth and burned them and fought courageously.

[32]Judah left the citadel and encamped at Beth Zechariah, opposite the camp of the king. [33]The king arose early in the morning, and moved his army hurriedly along the road to Beth Zechariah, where the armies prepared themselves for battle, and sounded the trumpets. [34]They showed the elephants juice of grapes and mulberries, to make them ready
35 for the battle. [35]They distributed the beasts among the phalanxes, and stationed with each elephant a thousand men, armed with breastplates of chain armor, with helmets of

---

Appian (46) says, "It was a pitiful sight the killing of these gentle and rare beasts." Before accomplishing his mission Octavius was assassinated by a certain Leptines.

31. THE ISRAELITES: See critical note.

32. BETH ZACHARIAH: Between Jerusalem and Beth Zur, SW of Jerusalem.

34. JUICE OF GRAPES: The text has "blood." Wine was called blood; *cf.* Gen. 49.11. Liquor was given to the elephants in order to excite them for battle. In III Mac. 5 liquor is served to elephants in order to madden them and make them trample the Jews. Here it is said that they showed the wine to the elephants but did not serve it to them—apparently not to excite them so much as to be beyond control. Wellhausen suggests that the original Hebrew had הרוו and the translator read הראו.

35. DISTRIBUTED THE BEASTS: The elephants were sometimes placed in the forefront to forge an opening in the ranks of the enemy so that the infantry could follow, as is done with tanks in modern warfare. Livy 37.40 says that in the Battle of Magnesia the elephants were distributed

αὐτῶν, καὶ πεντακοσία ἵππος διατεταγμένη ἐκάστῳ θηρίῳ
ἐκλελεγμένη· 36οὗτοι πρὸ καιροῦ οὗ ἂν ᾖ τὸ θηρίον ἦσαν καὶ
οὐ ἐὰν ἐπορεύετο ἐπορεύοντο ἅμα, οὐκ ἀφίσταντο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.
37καὶ πύργοι ξύλινοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὀχυροὶ σκεπαζόμενοι ἐφ'
ἑκάστου θηρίου ἐζωσμένοι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μηχαναῖς, καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάστου
ἄνδρες δυνάμεως τέσσαρες οἱ πολεμοῦντες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ
Ἰνδὸς αὐτοῦ. 38καὶ τὴν ἐπίλοιπον ἵππον ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν
ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τὰ δύο μέρη τῆς παρεμβολῆς, κατασείοντες καὶ
καταφρασσόμενοι ἐν ταῖς φάλαγξιν. 39ὡς δὲ ἔστιλβεν ὁ
ἥλιος ἐπὶ τὰς χρυσᾶς καὶ χαλκᾶς ἀσπίδας, ἔστιλβεν τὰ ὄρη
40 ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ κατηύγαζεν ὡς λαμπάδες πυρός. 40καὶ ἐξετάθη
μέρος τι τῆς παρεμβολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ ὄρη
καί τινες ἐπὶ τὰ ταπεινά· καὶ ἤρχοντο ἀσφαλῶς καὶ τεταγ-
μένως. 41καὶ ἐσαλεύοντο πάντες οἱ ἀκούοντες φωνῆς πλήθους
αὐτῶν καὶ ὁδοιπορίας τοῦ πλήθους καὶ συγκρουσμοῦ τῶν
ὅπλων· ἦν γὰρ ἡ παρεμβολὴ μεγάλη σφόδρα καὶ ἰσχυρά.
42καὶ ἤγγισεν Ιουδας καὶ ἡ παρεμβολὴ αυτοῦ εἰς παράταξιν,
καὶ ἔπεσον ἀπὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἑξακόσιοι
ἄνδρες. 43καὶ εἶδεν Ελεαζαρος ὁ Αυαραν ἓν τῶν θηρίων τεθωρα-
κισμένον θώραξιν βασιλικοῖς, καὶ ἦν ὑπεράγον πάντα τὰ
θηρία, καὶ ᾠήθη ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεύς· 44καὶ ἔδωκεν
ἑαυτὸν τοῦ σῶσαι τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιποῆσαι ἑαυτῷ
45 ὄνομα αἰώνιον· 45καὶ ἐπέδραμεν αὐτῷ θράσει εἰς μέσον τῆς
φάλαγγος καὶ ἐθανάτου δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα, καὶ ἐσχίζοντο
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα· 46καὶ εἰσέδυ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐλέφαντα καὶ
ὑπέθηκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν
ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐκεῖ. 47καὶ εἶδον τὴν ἰσχὺν τῆς

36 ου εαν ην 55 98 απ αυτου] επ αυτου A
37 τεσσαρες] δυο και τριακοντα A 62 340
41 ισχυρα σφοδρα 311
47 ειδεν Ιουδας 19 93 Jos. (375)

in pairs between the battalions in order to terrorize the enemy. In the battle Lysias divided the elephants among the phalanxes and placed 1000 infantry and 500 cavalry by each elephant.

37. WOODEN TOWERS: In his description of the Battle of Magnesia Livy says that crests and towers were placed upon the backs of the elephants. TWO OFFICERS: The Greek text has "thirty-two men upon each elephant." This is too much, even for an elephant. According to Livy 37.40, there were four soldiers, *quaterni armati*, upon each elephant (*cf.* also Strabo 15.52). Thus Rahlfs emended the text to read four. But the original Hebrew doubtless had שני שלשים "two officers" (*cf.* Ex. 14.7; II Kings 7.2)

brass on their heads. Five hundred select horsemen were assigned to each beast. [36]These were posted where the beast was. Wherever it would go, they went at the same time, without leaving it. [37]Strongly protected wooden towers were upon each beast, fixed upon them with saddle-girths; and upon each one there were two officers who fought on them, and each one had its Indian driver. [38]The rest of the horsemen he placed on either side of the two flanks of the army, hurling them forward at the enemy and protecting themselves among the phalanxes. [39]When the sun shone on the golden and brass shields, the mountains reflected the light from
40 them, and flashed back like burning torches. [40]Part of the king's army was spread upon the high mountains, while some were upon low ground, yet they proceeded steadily and in good order. [41]All who heard the din of the marching multitude and the clash of their arms trembled, for the army was very great and strong. [42]Judah and his army drew near for battle, and six hundred of the king's army were slain.

[43]When Eleazar Auaran saw that one of the beasts was armed with the royal breast plates, and that it overtopped all the other beasts, he thought that the king was on it. [44]He gave his life to save his people, thus acquiring for him-
45 self everlasting fame. [45]He courageously ran up to it into the middle of the phalanx, dealing out death to the right and left, and they parted from before him on both sides. [46]He slipped in under the elephant and thrust at it from underneath and killed it. It fell upon the ground on top of him, and there he died. [47]However, when they (the Judaeans) saw the

---

and the translator read שני ושלשים thirty-two; *cf. The First Book of Maccabees*, ed. by W. Fairweather and J. S. Black, Cambridge, 1908.

INDIAN DRIVER: India was the home of elephants, although they were also imported from Africa. Those from India were superior in size and fighting spirit (Livy 37.39, Strabo 15), and hence the mahouts were usually Indians.

39. GOLDEN AND BRASS SHIELDS: Rhetorical, as not all the men had golden shields; perhaps the reference is to the officers who bore golden and brass shields. Polybius 11.9 relates that Philopoemen told his soldiers that the brightness of their arms and armor would intimidate the enemy.

47. WHEN THEY SAW: Josephus (372) has "Judah saw!"

βασιλείας καὶ τὸ ὅρμημα τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἐξέκλιναν ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

48 Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνέβαινον εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῶν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ, καὶ παρενέβαλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Ιουδαίαν καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄρος Σιων. 49 καὶ ἐποίησεν εἰρήνην μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Βαιθσουρων, καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ διατροφὴ τοῦ συγκεκλεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ,
50 ὅτι σάββατον ἦν τῇ γῇ· 50 καὶ κατελάβετο ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν Βαιθσουραν καὶ ἀπέταξεν ἐκεῖ φρουρὰν τηρεῖν αὐτήν. 51 καὶ παρενέβαλεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἁγίασμα ἡμέρας πολλὰς καὶ ἔστησεν ἐκεῖ βελοστάσεις καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ πυροβόλα καὶ λιθοβόλα καὶ σκορπίδια εἰς τὸ βάλλεσθαι βέλη καὶ σφενδόνας. 52 καὶ ἐποίησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ μηχανὰς πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπολέμησαν ἡμέρας πολλάς. 53 βρώματα δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις διὰ τὸ ἔβδομον ἔτος εἶναι, καὶ οἱ ἀνασῳζόμενοι εἰς τὴν Ιουδαίαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν κατέφαγον τὸ ὑπόλειμμα τῆς παραθέσεως. 54 καὶ ὑπελείφθησαν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἄνδρες ὀλίγοι, ὅτι κατεκράτησεν αὐτῶν ὁ λιμός, καὶ ἐσκορπίσθησαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ.
55 55 Καὶ ἤκουσεν Λυσίας ὅτι Φίλιππος, ὃν κατέστησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ἔτι ζῶντος αὐτοῦ ἐκθρέψαι Ἀντίοχον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ βασιλεῦσαι αὐτόν, 56 ἀπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τῆς Περσίδος καὶ Μηδίας καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ πορευθεῖσαι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι ζητεῖ παραλαβεῖν τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων. 57 καὶ κατέσπευδεν καὶ ἐπένευσεν τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας Ἐκλείπομεν καθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ ἡ τροφὴ ἡμῖν ὀλίγη, καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗ παρεμβάλλομέν ἐστιν ὀχυρός, καὶ

---

49 ειρηνην>A εξηλθεν 381 55 *exierunt* V
56 πραγματων] προσταγματων S
57 και επενυσσοντο A ειπεν λυσιας 56 58 προς τους ανδρας S

---

49. HE MADE PEACE WITH THE MEN OF BETH ZUR: According to Josephus (375) the men of Beth Zur surrendered to Lysias because they lacked food and realized the futility of continuing the struggle against overwhelming odds. They yielded, however, only after receiving sworn assur-

strength of the kingdom and the fierce onslaught of its armies, they retreated before them.

[48]The men of the king's army went up to Jerusalem to meet them, and the king encamped against Judaea and Mount Zion. [49]He made peace with the men of Beth Zur, and they evacuated the city, as they had no food there to withstand
50 a siege, because it was a sabbatical year in the land. [50]The king took over Beth Zur, and placed a garrison there to guard it. [51]He encamped against the sanctuary for many days, placing there batteries and engines, flame and stone throwers, and scorpions to hurl javelins, and slings. [52]They also constructed engines to oppose their engines, and fought for many days. [53]But there were no provisions in the storerooms, because it was the sabbatical year, and those who had fled to Judaea for safety from the heathen had eaten up what was left of the supplies. [54]Only a few men were left in the sanctuary, because the famine had overcome them and they had scattered, each to his own place.

55 [55]When Lysias heard that Philip—whom King Antiochus, before his death, had appointed to rear his son Antiochus as king—[56]had returned with him from Persia and Media, with the armies that had accompanied the king, and that he was seeking to take over government affairs, [57]he hastily consented to return. He said to the king, the officers and men of the army, "We are growing weaker every day, our provisions are giving out, the place we are besieging is strong,

---

ance from Lysias that they would suffer no harm. WAS A SABBATICAL YEAR IN THE LAND: *I. e.*, 164–163 (150 AS). See below App. C.

50. THE KING TOOK OVER BETH ZUR: This verse is misplaced; it should stand before 49.

52. CONSTRUCTED ENGINES TO OPPOSE THEIR ENGINES: This method of warfare was employed by the Romans in the siege of Jerusalem 66–70 CE. It was resorted to during the Middle Ages.

56. HE WAS SEEKING TO TAKE OVER GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS: Hippolytus, in his Commentary on Daniel 4.46, says that Lysias heard that Philip was in Antioch and reigning over the city.

ἐπίκειται ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς βασιλείας· 58νῦν οὖν δῶμεν δεξιὰς
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις καὶ ποιήσωμεν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰρήνην
καὶ μετὰ παντὸς ἔθνους αὐτῶν 59καὶ στήσωμεν αὐτοῖς τοῦ
πορεύεσθαι τοῖς νομίμοις αὐτῶν ὡς τὸ πρότερον· χάριν γὰρ
τῶν νομίμων αὐτῶν, ὧν διεσκεδάσαμεν, ὠργίσθησαν καὶ
60 ἐποίησαν ταῦτα πάντα. 60καὶ ἤρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐναντίον τοῦ
βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς
εἰρηνεῦσαι, καὶ ἐπεδέξαντο. 61καὶ ὤμοσεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς
καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες· ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ ὀχυρώματος.
62καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς ὄρος Σιων καὶ εἶδεν το ὀχύρωμα
τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἠθέτησεν τὸν ὁρκισμόν, ὃν ὤμοσεν, καὶ ἐνετείλατο
καθελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος κυκλόθεν. 63καὶ ἀπῆρεν κατὰ σπουδὴν
καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ εὗρεν Φίλιππον κυριεύοντα
τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐπολέμησεν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ κατελάβετο τὴν
πόλιν βίᾳ.

7 1Ἔτους ἑνὸς καὶ πεντηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ ἐξῆλθεν Δημή-
τριος ὁ τοῦ Σελεύκου ἐκ Ῥώμης καὶ ἀνέβη σὺν ἀνδράσιν

58 δεξιαν A cf. Hippol. Dan. 46. 12 62 και καθειλον 74 58
61 ωμοσεν] ωμολογησεν S

58. LET US EXTEND THE RIGHT HAND: As a symbol of peace. TO THESE MEN AND MAKE PEACE WITH THEM: Hippolytus (4.46) adds "because the position is so strong and the affairs of the government pressing." Daniel 11.44, "But tidings out of the East and out of the North shall affright him; and he shall go forth to destroy and utterly to make away many," referred, according to Hippolytus, to Lysias. When he heard that Philip crowned himself in Antioch, he departed and was slain in the battle. According to Josephus 12.387 Philip was taken captive and killed.

59. THEIR OWN LAWS: Judah Maccabees won the first round in the war. Lysias granted religious freedom to the Jews, in the name of Antiochus V. He did not appoint Judah High Priest but rescinded Antiochus Epiphanes' decrees that the Jews must worship Zeus. A letter from Antiochus Eupator to Lysias is recorded in II Maccabee 11.23–26 in which he states that his father passed away to the gods and, since the Jews "object to our father's project of changing to Hellenism, preferring their own ways of life and asking permission to follow their own laws, it is our will therefore that this people also should not be disturbed and we have decided to give them back their Temple and permit them to live after their own customs." The day of the departure of Antiochus was declared a semi-holiday. To this the *Megillat Taanit* refers when it says, "On the twenty-eighth of Shebat (March), Antiochus withdrew from Jerusalem." *Cf.* S. Zeitlin *Megillat Taanit*, etc. pp. 80–81.

and the affairs of the kingdom press upon us. [58]Let us then extend the right hand to these men, and make peace with them, and with all their nation. [59]Let us make a treaty with them so that they can follow their own laws, as heretofore, for because of their laws which we abolished they became angry and did all these things."

60 [60]The suggestion pleased the king and his officers, and he sent them a proposal to make peace, which they accepted. [61]The king and his officers gave them their oath. On these conditions they went forth from the stronghold. [62]But when the king entered Mount Zion, and saw the strength of the place, he rejected the oath that he had sworn, and gave orders to tear down the encircling wall. [63]He then left with all speed and returned to Antioch, where he found Philip in control of the city. He made war against him, and took the city by force.

7 In the one hundred and fifty-first year Demetrius son of Seleucus came back from Rome, and went up with a few

---

63. FOUND PHILIP IN CONTROL OF THE CITY: See above 56.

1. HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIRST YEAR: *I. e.*, 163–162 BCE. SON OF SELEUCUS IV: Philopator. CAME BACK FROM ROME: Demetrius was a hostage in Rome. In the treaty after the Battle of Magnesia, Rome demanded hostages from Antiochus III to secure peace, and his son Antiochus IV was sent to Rome as a hostage. Upon the succession of Seleucus IV to the throne of his brother Antiochus III, his son Demetrius was sent to Rome as hostage in place of Antiochus IV. After the assassination of Seleucus IV his nephew Antiochus Epiphanes succeeded to the throne. However, Demetrius son of Seleucus IV was not released from Rome. When Demetrius learned of the death of his uncle Antiochus IV he begged the Roman Senate to release him but was refused. With the aid of his friend the historian Polybius he made his escape from Rome; *cf.* Polybius 31. WITH A FEW MEN: According to Polybius 31.14, he escaped with eight free men, five grown slaves, and three slave boys. TO A CITY ON THE SEASHORE: According to Josephus 389; and II Mac. 14.1, he embarked in Tripolis. AND THERE ESTABLISHED HIMSELF AS KING: *I. e.*, he was proclaimed king in Tripolis. Polybius (30) relates that while Demetrius was in Rome his guardian Diodorus brought him the news from Syria that the people were unfavorably disposed towards Lysias and ready to receive Demetrius as king. This determined Demetrius to escape from Rome.

ὀλίγοις εἰς πόλιν παραθαλασσίαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐκεῖ.
2καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς εἰσεπορεύετο εἰς οἶκον βασιλείας πατέρων
αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνέλαβον αἱ δυνάμεις τὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ τὸν
Λυσίαν ἀγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς αὐτῷ. 3καὶ ἐγνώσθη αὐτῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα,
καὶ εἶπεν Μή μοι δείξητε τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν. 4καὶ ἀπέκτειναν
αὐτοὺς αἱ δυνάμεις, καὶ ἐκάθισεν Δημήτριος ἐπὶ θρόνου βασι-
5 λείας αὐτοῦ. 5καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες ἄνδρες ἄνομοι
καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἐξ Ισραηλ, καὶ Ἄλκιμος ἡγεῖτο αὐτῶν βουλό-
μενος ἱερατεύειν. 6καὶ κατεγόρησαν τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασι-
λέα λέγοντες Ἀπώλεσεν Ιουδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ πάντας
τοὺς φίλους σου, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐσκόρπισεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν·
7νῦν οὖν ἀπόστειλον ἄνδρα, ᾧ πιστεύεις, καὶ πορευθεὶς ἰδέτω
τὴν ἐξολέθρευσιν πᾶσαν, ἣν ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ τοῦ
βασιλέως, καὶ κολασάτω αὐτοὺς καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐπιβοη-
θοῦντας αὐτοῖς. 8καὶ ἐπέλεξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Βακχίδην τῶν
φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως κυριεύοντα ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ
καὶ μέγαν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ πιστὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ 9καὶ ἀπέ-
στειλεν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἄλκιμον τὸν ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτῷ τὴν
ἱερωσύνην καὶ ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι τὴν ἐκδίκησιν ἐν

VII
2 εγενετο] επονειτο S
5 και ιακειμος Jos. (385)
6 ημων+και απο του δημου ημων 55 58
8 επελεξεν] επεταξεν 23
9 αρχιερωσυνην 311

---

2. THE ROYAL PALACE: At Antioch.

3. DON'T LET ME SEE THEM: A euphemistic expressing of his desire to be rid of them, without giving orders for their execution. Josephus relates that after their arrest they were "immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius."

5. LAWLESS AND IRRELIGIOUS MEN: Josephus uses the term "refugees." Apparently many of the Hellenized group fled from Jerusalem after Lysias granted religious freedom, and Judah persecuted those Jews who still favored Hellenization. ALCIMUS: Josephus calls him Jakeimos. His Hebrew name was probably Eliakim. WISHING TO SERVE AS HIGH PRIEST: According to II Mac. 14.3–7, he had been high priest but was removed because of his Hellenization. According to Josephus (385), Lysias appointed him high priest after the execution of Menelaus. In *Ant.* 20.10.1 he further says that after Lysias killed Menelaus he appointed Jacimus (Alcimus) as high priest, "One who was indeed a scion of Aaron but not of the family of Onias." Augustine *The City of God*, 18.45 says

men to a city on the seashore and there established himself as king. [2]It so happened that when he was about to enter the royal palace of his fathers, the troops arrested Antiochus and Lysias and brought them to him. [3]When he heard of this action, he said, "Don't let me see them."

[4]The troops killed them, and Demetrius sat upon his royal
5 throne. [5]Then all the lawless and irreligious men of Israel came to him, with Alcimus, wishing to serve as High Priest, leading them. [6]They accused the people to the king, saying, "Judah and his brothers have killed off all your friends, and have driven us out of our land. [7]Now, therefore, send a man in whom you have confidence. Let him go and see all the damage that he has done to us and to the king's country. Let him punish them and all who help them."

[8]The king selected Bacchides, one of the Friends of the king, who was the ruler of the other side of the river, a great man in the kingdom and faithful to the king. [9]He sent him and the impious Alcimus, whom he confirmed in the priesthood, and ordered him to take revenge on the Israelites.

---

that "Alcimus, although an alien of the sacerdotal tribe, was through ambition made pontiff, which was an impious thing." Augustine was in error. Menelaus was a scion of the high priestly family of Onias, while Alcimus was an ordinary priest but not of the high priestly family.

6. JUDAH . . . KILLED OFF ALL YOUR FRIENDS: They indicated to the King that they suffered because of their loyalty to the Syrian kingdom and that if he abandoned them it would harm his own cause. AND HAVE DRIVEN US OUT OF OUR LAND: Those who fled from Jerusalem because of their Hellenistic views were called deserters by Josephus. This became a technical expression for them, synonymous with irreligious and lawless.

7. THE DAMAGE THAT HE HAS DONE TO US AND THE KING'S COUNTRY: Alcimus and his followers complained to Demetrius that he not only had to flee the country because of Judah, but that Judah had damaged the "King's country"—Judaea being a part of the Syrian empire. Alcimus followed the policy of Menelaus. He and his followers wished to be a part of Syria and to be called Antiochenes, not Jews.

8. FRIENDS: According to Josephus, Bacchides was a friend of King Antiochus Epiphanes. THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RIVER: *I. e.*, west of the Euphrates. According to Josephus, Bacchides was entrusted with the government of all of Mesopotamia. Apparently Josephus took *Abarnahara* to mean Mesopotamia. *Cf.* E. Meyer, *Ursprung* II 242 N. 4.

10 τοῖς υἱοῖς Ισραηλ. [10]καὶ ἀπῆρον καὶ ἦλθον μετὰ δυνάμεως
πολλῆς εἰς γῆν Ιουδα· καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους πρὸς Ιουδαν
καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ λόγοις εἰρηνικοῖς μετὰ δόλου. [11]καὶ
οὐ προσέσχον τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν· εἶδον γὰρ ὅτι ἦλθαν μετὰ
δυνάμεως πολλῆς. [12]καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν πρὸς Ἀλκιμον καὶ
Βακχίδην συναγωγὴ γραμματέων ἐκζητῆσαι δίκαια, [13]καὶ
πρῶτοι οἱ Ασιδαῖοι ἦσαν ἐν υἱοῖς Ισραηλ καὶ ἐπεζήτουν
παρ' αὐτῶν εἰρήνην· [14]εἶπον γάρ Ἄνθρωπος ἱερεὺς ἐκ σπέρ-
ματος Ααρων ἦλθεν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀδικήσει ἡμᾶς.
15 [15]καὶ ἐλάλησεν μετ' αὐτῶν λόγους εἰρηνικοὺς καὶ ὤμοσεν
αὐτοῖς λέγων Οὐκ ἐκζητήσομεν ὑμῖν κακὸν καὶ τοῖς φίλοις
ὑμῶν. [16]καὶ ἐνεπίστευσαν αὐτῷ· καὶ συνέλαβεν ἐξ αὐτῶν
ἑξήκοντα ἄνδρας καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ κατὰ
τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἔγραψεν αὐτόν [17]Σάρκας ὁσίων σου καὶ αἷμα
αὐτῶν ἐξέχεαν κύκλῳ Ιερουσαλημ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ
θάπτων. [18]καὶ ἐπέπεσεν αὐτῶν ὁ φόβος καὶ ὁ τρόμος εἰς
πάντα τὸν λαόν, ὅτι εἶπον Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλήθεια καὶ
κρίσις, παρέβησαν γὰρ τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὸν ὅρκον, ὃν ὤμοσαν.
[19]καὶ ἀπῆρεν Βακχίδης ἀπὸ Ιερουσαλημ καὶ παρενέβαλεν ἐν
Βηθζαιθ καὶ ἀπέστειλεν καὶ συνέλαβεν πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν
μετ' αὐτοῦ αὐτομολησάντων ἀνδρῶν καί τινας τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ
20 ἔθυσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ φρέαρ τὸ μέγα. [20]καὶ κατέστησεν τὴν
χώραν τῷ Ἀλκίμῳ καὶ ἀφῆκεν μετ' αὐτοῦ δύναμιν τοῦ βοηθεῖν

13 οι ασειδοναιοι οιας ιουδαιοι
16 εγραψεν ο προφητης 19 S ασαφ ο προφητης 55
17 σαρκας κρεας S *carnes viscera,* L
19 βεθζαρα 56 και απεστειλεν>107 τον αυτομολησαντων μετ αυτου ανδρων 55 *ex eis qui a se refugerant* V; *ex his qui ad eum desertores refugiebant.* L

12. A COMPANY OF SCRIBES: The Hebrew term is *Soferim,* applied to scholars from Ezra until the destruction of the Temple.

13. THE HASIDIM: *Cf.* note on 2. 42. This group left Judah and joined Alcimus after receiving assurance of religious freedom from the Syrian government. They were not in sympathy with the Hasmonaean policy of establishing an independent Judaea.

15. AND SWORE TO THEM: According to Josephus 12.396, both Bacchides and Alcimus took an oath not to harm the Hasidim.

16. SLEW THEM: Josephus, *ibid.*, makes Bacchides responsible for this massacre. Perhaps Alcimus suspected that the sixty Hasidim assisted Judah in persecuting the Hellenized Jews and doubted their loyalty to him.

10 [10]They started out and came with a large army to the land
of Judah, and he sent messengers to deceive Judah and his
brothers with peaceful words. [11]They, however, disregarded
these words, for they saw that they had come with a great
army. [12]A company of scribes gathered together before
Alcimus and Bacchides to seek justice. [13]The Hasidim were
the first among the Israelites who sought peace from them,
for they said, [14]"One who is a priest of the tribe of Aaron
has come with the soldiers, and he will do us no harm."
15 [15]He spoke words of peace with them, and swore to them,
saying, "We have no evil intentions either against you or
your friends." [16]They believed him, but he arrested sixty
of them and slew them in one day, according to the one who
wrote,

[17]"'The flesh of Thy saints and their blood
They did shed around Jerusalem,
And there was no one to bury them.'"

[18]Fear and dread of them fell upon all the people, be-
cause they said, "There is neither truth nor justice in them.
They transgressed the covenant and the oath which they
swore."

[19]Bacchides then started out from Jerusalem and en-
camped in Bethzaith. He sent men to arrest many of the
deserters who had been with him, as well as some of the army,
20 and he slew them (casting them) into the great cistern. [20]After
handing the country over to Alcimus and leaving an army
with him to help him, Bacchides returned to the king.

---

17. THERE WAS NO ONE TO BURY THEM: Heb. *Cf.* Ps. 79.2–3; Jer. 14.16. The custom of not allowing enemies to be buried prevailed among all the nations. Josephus relates that during the civil war in Jerusalem (68–70 CE), when the Zealots slew their enemies, they left them without burial. *Jewish War*, 4.6, 3(382). The Jews like other ancients looked with horror on an unburied corpse.

19. BETHZAITH: Josephus 397 names the village Bethzetha, located in the vicinity of Jerusalem. TO ARREST MANY OF THE DESERTERS WHO HAD BEEN WITH HIM: Possibly deserters who fled the Syrian camp, or perhaps deserters from the Hasmonaeans who joined Bacchides. He did not trust them and hence slew them.

αὐτῷ· καὶ ἀπῆλθεν Βακχίδης πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. [21]καὶ ἠγωνίσατο Ἄλκιμος περὶ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης, [22]καὶ συνήχθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ ταράσσοντες τὸν λαὸν αὐτῶν καὶ κατεκράτησαν γῆν Ιουδα καὶ ἐποίησαν πληγὴν μεγάλην ἐν Ισραηλ. [23]καὶ εἶδεν Ιουδας πᾶσαν τὴν κακίαν, ἣν ἐποίησεν Ἄλκιμος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν υἱοῖς Ισραηλ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἔθνη, [24]καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς πάντα τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ιουδαίας κυκλόθεν καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς αὐτομολήσασιν, καὶ
25 ἀνεστάλησαν τοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν χώραν. [25]ὡς δὲ εἶδεν Ἄλκιμος ὅτι ἐνίσχυσεν Ιουδας καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐ δύναται ὑποστῆναι αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κατηγόρησεν αὐτῶν πονηρά.

[26]Καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Νικάνορα ἕνα τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐνδόξων καὶ μισοῦντα καὶ ἐχθραίνοντα τῷ Ισραηλ καὶ ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ ἐξᾶραι τὸν λαόν. [27]καὶ ἦλθεν Νικάνωρ εἰς Ιερουσαλημ δυνάμει πολλῇ, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς Ιουδαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ μετὰ δόλου λόγοις εἰρηνικοῖς λέγων [28]Μὴ ἔστω μάχη ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν· ἥξω ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὀλίγοις, ἵνα ἴδω ὑμῶν τὰ πρόσωπα μετ' εἰρήνης. [29]καὶ ἦλθεν πρὸς Ιουδαν, καὶ ἠσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους εἰρηνικῶς·
30 καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν ἐξαρπάσαι τὸν Ιουδαν. [30]καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὁ λόγος τῷ Ιουδα ὅτι μετὰ δόλου ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπτοήθη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐβουλήθη ἔτι ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ. [31]καὶ ἔγνω Νικάνωρ ὅτι ἀπεκαλύφθη ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς συνάντησιν τῷ Ιουδα ἐν πολέμῳ κατὰ Χαφαρσαλαμα. [32]καὶ ἔπεσον τῶν παρὰ Νικάνορος ὡσεὶ πεντακόσιοι ἄνδρες, καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ.

[33]Καὶ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἀνέβη Νικάνωρ εἰς ὄρος Σιων. καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ λαοῦ ἀσπάσασθαι αὐτὸν εἰρηνικῶς

24 αυτομολησασιν] ανομησασι 55
28 μαχη] μαχαιρα 62
31 καφαρσαλαμα Jos. (405)
32 πεντακοσιοι] πεντακισχιλιοι 62 46 56

26. NICANOR: See above 3.38; II Mac. 14.12.
28. TO SEE YOU PERSONALLY: Lit. See your face. Heb.
29. TO KIDNAP JUDAH: *Cf.* II Mac. 14.18–25; Jos. 404.
31. CAPHAR SALAMA: *Cf.* Yer. Ab. Zara 5.4; see also John 3.23. It lay about 6 miles north of Jerusalem. *Cf.* Abel *RB* 1924. 376.

21Alcimus now strove to retain the high priesthood. 22All
the troublemakers among the people gathered themselves to
him, and took possession of the land of Judah, causing great
havoc in Israel. 23When Judah saw all the harm that Alcimus
and his men had done to the Israelites, more than the
heathen had done, 24he went out to all the frontiers around
Judaea and took revenge on the deserters, and they were
25 prevented from going out into the country. 25When Alcimus
saw that Judah and his men were becoming strong, he per-
ceived that he could not stand against them, so he returned
to the king and brought evil accusations against them.

26The king sent Nicanor, one of his famous officers, who
hated and despised Israel, and ordered him to get rid of the
people. 27Nicanor went to Jerusalem with a great army, and
deceitfully sent a peaceful message to Judah and his brothers,
saying, 28"Let there be no battle between me and you. I will
come with a few men, to see you personally in peace."

29He came to Judah, and they greeted each other peace-
ably; nevertheless, the enemy were prepared to kidnap
30 Judah. 30When Judah realized that he had come to him in
deceit, he was afraid of him and refused to see him again.
31When Nicanor saw that his plan had been discovered, he
went out to meet Judah in battle, at Caphar Salama. 32About
five hundred of Nicanor's men were killed, and they fled to
the city of David.

33After this Nicanor went up to Mount Zion, and some of
the priests came out of the sanctuary along with some of the
elders of the people to greet him peaceably, and to show him

---

32. AND THEY FLED TO THE CITY OF DAVID: According to Josephus *Ant.* 12.405 Nicanor defeated Judah and "forced him to flee to Akra in Jerusalem," but it is hard to accept this version. Akra was in the hands of the Syrians and it would be suicidal for Judah to seek refuge in a place occupied by his enemies. On the other hand, Schürer (*Geschichte,* 1.217, n. 26) maintains that Nicanor did not suffer defeat and was not compelled to flee to Akra. It seems that the phrase "they fled" refers to Nicanor's army. It was the advance guard of the Syrian army that engaged Judah and were beaten by him. Thus they fled to their stronghold Akra. Our text gives 500 as the number killed; some MSS read 5000: see critical note.

καὶ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ τὴν ὁλοκαύτωσιν τὴν προσφερομένην ὑπὲρ
τοῦ βασιλέως. [34]καὶ ἐμυκτήρισεν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατεγέλασεν
35 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐμίανεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐλάλησεν ὑπερηφάνως· [35]καὶ
ὤμοσεν μετὰ θυμοῦ λέγων Ἐὰν μὴ παραδοθῇ Ιουδας καὶ ἡ
παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ εἰς χεῖράς μου τὸ νῦν, καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν
ἐπιστρέψω ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἐμπυριῶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν
μετὰ θυμοῦ μεγάλου. [36]καὶ εἰσῆλθον οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἔστησαν
κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ ἔκλαυσαν
καὶ εἶπον [37]Σὺ ἐξελέξω τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον ἐπικληθῆναι τὸ ὄνομά
σου ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ εἶναι οἶκον προσευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως τῷ λαῷ
σου· [38]ποίησον ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ
παρεμβολῇ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πεσέτωσαν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ· μνήσθητι
τῶν δυσφημιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ δῷς αὐτοῖς μονήν. [39]καὶ ἐξῆλθεν
Νικάνωρ ἐξ Ιερουσαλημ καὶ παρενέβαλεν ἐν Βαιθωρων, καὶ
40 συνήντησεν αὐτῷ δύναμις Συρίας. [40]καὶ Ιουδας παρενέβαλεν
ἐν Αδασα ἐν τρισχιλίοις ἀνδράσιν· καὶ προσηύξατο Ιουδας καὶ
εἶπεν [41]Οἱ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὅτε ἐβλασφήμησαν, ἐξῆλθεν ὁ
ἄγγελός σου καὶ ἐπάταξεν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα
πέντε χιλιάδας· [42]οὕτως σύντριψον τὴν παρεμβολὴν ταύτην
ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν σήμερον, καὶ γνώτωσαν οἱ ἐπίλοιποι ὅτι
κακῶς ἐλάλησεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἁγιά σου, καὶ κρῖνον αὐτὸν κατὰ
τὴν κακίαν αὐτοῦ. [43]καὶ συνῆψαν αἱ παρεμβολαὶ εἰς πόλεμον
τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς Αδαρ, καὶ συνετρίβη ἡ παρεμβολὴ

---

34 και εμιανεν αυτους>107
40 ελασα 236
41 βασιλεως+ασσυριων 19–542; *rege Sennacherib* V

---

34. JEERED AT THEM AND POLLUTED THEM: MS 107 "polluted them." Josephus says he cursed them but does not say that he polluted them. According to the Hebrew Josippon he spat at them. See critical note.

35. I WILL BURN DOWN THIS HOUSE: Nicanor boasted that if Judah were not delivered to him he would on his return destroy the Temple.

36. AND STOOD BEFORE THE ALTAR AND THE SANCTUARY: They stood between the porch and the altar. *Cf.* Joel 2.17. See Introd. p. 59.

39. BETH HORON: See above 3.16.

40. ADASA: According to Josephus (408) Adasa was a village about 30 stades (a little more than three miles) from Beth Horon on the road to Jerusalem. Abel (*ibid.* 377–9) identifies it with the modern Khirbet 'Adaseh, which is about 7 miles from Beth Horon. *Cf.* Mishna Er. 5.6,

the whole burnt offering that was being offered in honor of
the king. [34]He sneered at them, however, and jeered at them
35 and polluted them, and spoke disdainfully. [35]He swore with
rage, saying, "Unless Judah and his army are delivered into
my hands right now, it shall come to pass when I return in
peace, that I will burn down this house."

He went away in great rage. [36]The priests entered and stood
before the altar and the sanctuary, and wept and said,
[37]"'Thou hast chosen this house to be called by Thy name, to
be a house of prayer and supplication for Thy people. [38]Take
revenge on this man and on his army. Let them fall by the
sword. Be mindful of their blasphemies, and give them no
peace."

[39]Nicanor then went out of Jerusalem and encamped at
40 Beth Horon where the Syrian army met him. [40]Judah in the
meanwhile encamped in Adasa with three thousand men,
and Judah prayed and said, [41]"'When the king's men blas-
phemed, Thine angel went forth and smote one hundred and
eighty-five thousand of them. [42]In the same manner shatter
this army before us today, that those who remain may know
that he spoke wickedly of Thy sanctuary. Judge him as his
wickedness deserves."

[43]The armies met in battle on the thirteenth day of the
month of Adar, and Nicanor's army was shattered. He him-

A. Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 98. See also Schürer, *Geschichte* I, p. 218 n. 28.

41. WHEN THE KING'S MEN BLASPHEMED: The reference is to Sennacherib, king of Assyria. *Cf.* II Mac. 15.22; II Kings 18.

43. THE THIRTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH OF ADAR: 161 BCE (152 AS). In II Mac. 15.36 the author adds, "Day before the day of Mordecai." The reason why the day of Mordecai or Purim is not mentioned is due to the fact that the year 161 was intercalated, with two Adars. Nicanor was killed on the 13th of the first Adar, which was not the day before Purim. The author of II Mac., seeing in the records that Nicanor was killed on the 13th of Adar and knowing that the 13th of Adar was the day before Purim, made the addition not knowing that the 13th of Adar of that particular year was not the day before the Day of Mordecai. *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit*, p. 118.

Νικάνορος, καὶ ἔπεσεν αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. 44ὡς δὲ εἶδεν ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἔπεσεν Νικάνωρ, ῥίψαντες τὰ
45 ὅπλα ἔφυγον. 45καὶ κατεδίωκον αὐτοὺς ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἀπὸ Αδασα ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Γαζηρα καὶ ἐσάλπιζον ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ταῖς σάλπιγξιν τῶν σημασιῶν. 46καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἐκ πασῶν τῶν κωμῶν τῆς Ιουδαίας κυκλόθεν καὶ ὑπερεκέρων αὐτούς, καὶ ἀπέστρεφον οὗτοι πρὸς τούτους, καὶ ἔπεσον πάντες ῥομφαίᾳ, καὶ οὐ κατελείφθη ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἷς. 47 καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ σκῦλα καὶ τὴν προνομήν, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Νικάνορος ἀφεῖλον καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐξέτεινεν ὑπερηφάνως, καὶ ἤνεγκαν καὶ ἐξέτειναν παρὰ τῇ Ιερουσαλημ. 48καὶ ηὐφράνθη ὁ λαὸς σφόδρα καὶ ἤγαγον τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν εὐφροσύνης μεγάλην· 49καὶ ἔστησαν τοῦ ἄγειν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὴν ἡμέραν
50 ταύτην τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Αδαρ. 50καὶ ἡσύχασεν ἡ γῆ Ιουδα ἡμέρας ὀλίγας.

8 1Καὶ ἤκουσεν Ιουδας τὸ ὄνομα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὅτι εἰσὶν δυνατοὶ ἰσχύι καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐδοκοῦσιν ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς προστιθεμένοις αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅσοι ἂν προσέλθωσιν αὐτοῖς, ἱστῶσιν αὐτοῖς φιλίαν, καὶ ὅτι εἰσὶ δυνατοὶ ἰσχύι. 2καὶ διηγήσαντο αὐτῷ τοὺς πολέμους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας, ἃς ποιοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς Γαλάταις, καὶ ὅτι κατεκράτησαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἤγαγον

45 αυτους+οι περι ιουδαν 311 εσαλπισαν A
46 ανεστρεφον A

VIII
1 και οσοι εαν προτεθωσιν αυτοις A

44. THEY THREW AWAY THEIR ARMS: *Cf.* above 5.43.

45. GAZARA: *Cf.* above 4.15. AND THEY SOUNDED THE TRUMPET SIGNALS: The notes of the trumpet were to signal their friends in the villages to occupy the passes and intercept the retreat.

46. BEGAN TO OUTFLANK THEM: *I. e.*, close them in. The strategy was very well employed by Scipio against the army of Hasdrubal: *cf.* Polybius 11.23.

47. CUT OFF NICANOR'S HEAD: *Cf.* I Sam. 31.9; Judith 13.8. *Cf.* also Herodotus 7.238. AND HIS RIGHT HAND: A means of counting the slain. In this case the cutting off of the head and right hand of Nicanor was a punishment for his blasphemy and his raising of the right hand in threatening to destroy the Temple. *Cf.* II Mac. 15.32; Yer. Meg. 1.4; B. Tan. 17.

49. ON THE THIRTEENTH OF ADAR: In *Megillat Taanit* this festival is mentioned among the semi-holidays on which Jews were not allowed to

self fell first in the fight. 44When his army saw that Nicanor
45 had fallen, they threw away their arms and fled. 45They pursued them a day's journey from Adasa until you come to Gazara. They sounded the trumpet signals after them, 46and the people came forth from all around the villages of Judaea and began to outflank them. They turned them back upon themselves, and they all fell by the sword. Not even one of them was left. 47They took the spoil and the plunder, and cut off Nicanor's head and right hand, which he had stretched out so arrogantly, and brought them and hanged them near Jerusalem. 48The people rejoiced greatly, and kept that day as a day of great rejoicing, 49and ordained that this day should be observed annually, on the thirteenth of Adar.
50 50And the land of Judah was quiet for a little while.

8 Judah had heard of the fame of the Romans, that they were valiant in power, that they were favorably disposed toward all who joined them, and that they offered friendship to all who approached them. 2People had told him about their wars and their exploits among the Gauls, and how they had

---

mourn and weep. After the destruction of the Temple these semi-holidays, with the exception of Hanukkah and Purim, were no longer observed, as they were of a national character in commemoration of victories. Hence we find a dispute in the Talmud (R. H. 18h) among the sages whether the semi-holidays mentioned in the *Megillat Taanit* were really abolished since the rabbis never officially ratified such non-observance.

50. FOR A LITTLE WHILE: Lit. "a few days." From the 14th of Adar, 161 BCE to Nisan, a period of between seven and nine weeks.

1. THE FAME OF THE ROMANS: The Battle of Magnesia in particular spread the fame of Rome throughout the East. WHO JOINED THEM: The Romans had made alliances with Ariarathes of Cappadocia, Attalus of Pergamum, and also Ptolemy Philometor. The text repeats the clause "they were valiant in power" either by error or for the sake of emphasis.

2. AMONG THE GAULS: Perhaps the Gauls or Celts who invaded Asia Minor in the third century BCE and were conquered in 189 BCE by Manlius Vulso; or possibly those of upper Italy whom Rome conquered in 190 BCE. *Cf.* C. Kautsch, *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, ad. loc.

αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ φόρον, 3καὶ ὅσα ἐποίησαν ἐν χώρᾳ Σπανίας τοῦ κατακρατῆσαι τῶν μετάλλων τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου τοῦ ἐκεῖ· 4καὶ κατεκράτησαν τοῦ τόπου παντὸς τῇ βουλῇ αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ, καὶ ὁ τόπος ἦν ἀπέχων μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν σφόδρα, καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐπελθόντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, ἀπ' ἄκρου τῆς γῆς, ἕως συνέτριψαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπάταξαν ἐν αὐτοῖς πληγὴν μεγάλην, καὶ οἱ ἐπίλοιποι διδό-
5 ασιν αὐτοῖς φόρον κατ' ἐνιαυτόν· 5καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Περσέα Κιτιέων βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἐπηρμένους ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συνέτριψαν αὐτοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ κατεκράτησαν αὐτῶν· 6καὶ Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα τῆς Ἀσίας τὸν πορευθέντα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ἔχοντα ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἐλέφαντας καὶ ἵππον καὶ ἅρματα καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν σφόδρα, καὶ συνετρίβη ὑπ' αὐτῶν, 7καὶ ἔλαβον αὐτὸν ζῶντα καὶ ἔστησαν αὐτοῖς διδόναι αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς βασιλεύοντας μετ' αὐτὸν φόρον μέγαν καὶ διδόναι ὅμηρα καὶ διαστολὴν 8καὶ χώραν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ Μηδίαν καὶ Λυδίαν ἀπὸ τῶν καλλίστων χωρῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰς

---

5 περσεα>19 93

---

3. SPAIN: In 201 BCE, after the Second Punic War, Rome acquired the Carthaginian holdings in Spain. THE MINES OF SILVER AND GOLD: Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 3.330, says that nearly all Spain was covered with mines of lead, iron, copper, silver and gold.

4. THE ENTIRE REGION: More correctly "province," since the whole peninsula of Spain was conquered only in the time of Augustus (19 BCE). KINGS: Perhaps Hannibal and Hasdrubal, who were sometimes called kings.

5. PHILIP: Third king of Macedonia, who was defeated by the Romans in 197 BCE; *cf.* Livy 33.7. PERSEUS: The illegitimate son and successor of Philip III was defeated and taken prisoner by Aemilius Paulus at the Battle of Pydna, 168 BCE., after which Macedonia became a Roman province. CHITTIM: See above 1.1. Josephus (414) has "Greece." WHO HAD OPPOSED THEM: Perhaps the allies of Perseus—Thracians, Thessalians, and Epirots.

6. ANTIOCHUS: The Great, who ruled Syria 224–187 BCE, and was defeated by the Romans at the Battle of Magnesia. KING OF ASIA: *I. e.*, Asia Minor. ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY ELEPHANTS: According to Livy 37.39 there were fifty-four elephants. See Introd. p. 26. CHARIOTS: Appian, *Syrian Wars*, V 1.33 and Livy 37.41 say that the chariots

overcome them, and made them pay tribute. [3]People had
told him what they had done in Spain, when they secured
there the mines of silver and gold, [4]how they had gained
possession of the entire region by their plans and per-
sistence—although the place was far away. He had heard
about the kings who had come against them from the end of
the earth, until they had crushed them and struck them a
great blow, and how the rest of them paid yearly tribute.
5 [5]Also the report ran that they had crushed Philip and
Perseus, the king of Chittim, and how they had conquered in
battle and overcome those who had opposed them. [6]He had
heard how Antiochus, the great king of Asia, had come against
them in battle with one hundred and twenty elephants,
cavalry, chariots and a very strong army, and how he had
been beaten by them. [7]They had taken him alive, and deter-
mined that he and his successors had to pay them great trib-
ute, giving up hostages and surrendering territory, namely,
[8]the country of India, Media, Lydia, and some of their best
lands. Having taken them from him, they had given them

---

were armored with scythes but caused greater disaster to Antiochus's army than to the Romans.

7. THEY HAD TAKEN HIM ALIVE: Incorrect; for Antiochus III was not captured by the Romans. Perhaps our author confused Antiochus with Perseus of Macedonia, who was taken captive by the Romans. HIS SUCCESSORS: *I. e.*, Seleucus IV. TO PAY GREAT TRIBUTE: According to Polybius 21.17, Antiochus III was supposed to pay the Romans 15,000 Euboean talents, 500 at once, 2,500 upon the ratification of the peace treaty by the Roman people, and the remainder in twelve annual instalments; *cf.* also Livy 38.38.

8. THE COUNTRY OF INDIA: India never belonged to Antiochus and hence could not have been annexed. Livy 38.14, speaking of the Indus River, says that the name was taken from an Indian who fell from his elephant. This may have misled the author who took it to mean the country of India. MEDIA: According to the terms of the treaty (Livy 38.38) Antiochus had to withdraw from the cities and strongholds on this side of the Taurus Mountains as far as the Halys River; hence he was not required to retire from Media. But the same historian mentions Mysia; and perhaps our author mistook Mysia for Media. GIVEN THEM TO KING EUMENES: Eumenes II, King of Pergamum, who allied himself with the Romans against Antiochus, for which he was rewarded by the Romans after their victory at Magnesia.

Εὐμένει τῷ βασιλεῖ· [9]καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐβουλεύσαντο
10 ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐξᾶραι αὐτούς, [10]καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὁ λόγος αὐτοῖς, καὶ
ἀπέστειλαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸν ἕνα καὶ ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς
αὐτούς, καὶ ἔπεσον ἐξ αὐτῶν τραυματίαι πολλοί, καὶ ᾐχμα-
λώτισαν τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπρο-
νόμευσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατεκράτησαν τῆς γῆς καὶ καθεῖλον τὰ
ὀχυρώματα αὐτῶν καὶ κατεδουλώσαντο αὐτοὺς ἕως τῆς
ἡμέρας ταύτης· [11]καὶ τὰς ἐπιλοίπους βασιλείας καὶ τὰς
νήσους, ὅσοι ποτὲ ἀντέστησαν αὐτοῖς, κατέφθειραν καὶ
ἐδούλωσαν αὐτούς, μετὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπα-
ναπαυομένων αὐτοῖς συνετήρησαν φιλίαν· [12]καὶ κατεκράτησαν
τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐγγὺς καὶ τῶν μακράν, καὶ ὅσοι ἤκουον
τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν, ἐφοβοῦντο ἀπ' αὐτῶν. [13]οἷς δ' ἂν βούλωνται
βοηθεῖν καὶ βασιλεύειν, βασιλεύουσιν. οὓς δ' ἂν βούλωνται,
μεθιστῶσιν· καὶ ὑψώθησαν σφόδρα. [14]καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν τούτοις
οὐκ ἐπέθεντο αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἷς διάδημα, οὐδὲ περιεβάλοντο
15 πορφύραν ὥστε ἀδρυνθῆναι ἐν αὐτῇ· [15]καὶ βουλευτήριον
ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐβουλεύοντο τριακόσιοι
καὶ εἴκοσι βουλευόμενοι διὰ παντὸς περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ
εὐκοσμεῖν αὐτούς· [16]καὶ πιστεύουσιν ἑνὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἄρχειν
αὐτῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ κυριεύειν πάσης τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν, καὶ
πάντες ἀκούουσιν τοῦ ἑνός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν φθόνος οὐδὲ ζῆλος
ἐν οὐτοῖς.

---

13 και οσοι εαν 93 14 εν αυτη>επ αυτην 93

---

9. PLANNED TO COME AND TO DESTROY THEM: It is not clear to whom this refers. The Achaean League has been suggested, but this was destroyed about fifteen years after the death of Judah Maccabee.

10. SLAIN: Lit. "fell wounded." AND ENSLAVED THEM EVEN TO THIS DAY: According to Justin 34.2, when the Achaean League was defeated Corinth was razed to the ground and its inhabitants sold into slavery. But this occurred after the death of Judah Maccabee.

11. THE ISLANDS: Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica. THEY HAD PRESERVED FRIENDSHIP . . . WHO HAD RELIED UPON THEM: In actual fact the Romans maintained friendships only as long as it was to their own interest to do so; they never aided those who depended upon them unless for their own benefit.

12. WERE AFRAID OF THEM: *I. e.*, of the Romans. Antiochus Epiphanes, who held Egypt in his grasp, had to retire by the order of the Roman

to King Eumenes. [9]It was further reported how the men of
10 Greece had planned to come and destroy them, [10]but the
plan had become known to them. They had sent one general
against them, and made war against them. Many of them
had been slain. They had taken away their wives and their
children, had plundered them, gained possession of the land,
torn down their strongholds and enslaved them even to this
day. [11]Furthermore, it was reported how they had destroyed
and enslaved the rest of the kingdoms and the islands, which
had at one time or another arisen against them. They had
preserved friendship with their friends and with those who
had relied upon them. [12]They had conquered kings both near
and far, and all who heard of their fame were afraid of them.
[13]Whomsoever they wished to help and make kings became
kings, and whomsoever they wished they deposed; and they
were greatly exalted. [14]Yet with all this, not even one of
them put on a diadem, or donned purple, for self-aggrandize-
15 ment. [15]They had built a Senate house for themselves, and
each day three hundred and twenty men sat in council
planning continually in behalf of the people, so that they
might govern them well. [16]They put their faith in one man
to rule over them each year and to be master of their entire
country. They all obeyed the one man, with no envy nor
jealousy among them.

Consul, Popilius Laenas. See Introd. p. 17.

13. MAKE KINGS: Like Eumenes I and Eumenes II of Pergamum, or Ariarathes of Cappadocia.

14. PURPLE: The insignia of kingship.

15. EACH DAY: This is erroneous. The Senate regularly convened only on the *kalends* (the first day of the month), *nones* (the ninth day before the *ides*), *ides* (the fifteenth day of March, May and July, and on the thirteenth days of the other months), and on the festivals. In an emergency it could be summoned at any time. THREE HUNDRED AND TWENTY MEN SAT IN COUNCIL: The senate originally consisted of one hundred members, and the number was gradually increased to three hundred.

16. ONE MAN TO RULE: There were in fact two consuls. NO ENVY NOR JEALOUSY AMONG THEM: In fact there was always conflict between patricians and plebeians, and frictions and rivalries among the consuls.

17Καὶ ἐπελέξατο Ιουδας τὸν Εὐπόλεμον υἱὸν Ιωαννου τοῦ
Ακκως καὶ Ἰάσονα υἱὸν Ελεαζαρου καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς
εἰς Ῥώμην στῆσαι φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν 18καὶ τοῦ ἆραι
τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι εἶδον τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων
καταδουλουμένους τὸν Ισραηλ δουλείᾳ. 19καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς
Ῥώμην, καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς πολλὴ σφόδρα, καὶ εἰσήλθοσαν εἰς τὸ
20 βουλευτήριον καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ εἶπον 20Ιουδας ὁ καὶ
Μακκαβαῖος καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ιουδαίων
ἀπέστειλαν ἡμᾶς πρὸς ὑμᾶς στῆσαι μεθ' ὑμῶν συμμαχίαν
καὶ εἰρήνην καὶ γραφῆναι ἡμᾶς συμμάχους καὶ φίλους ὑμῶν.
21καὶ ἤρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν. 22καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀντίγραφον
τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἧς ἀντέγραψαν ἐπὶ δέλτοις χαλκαῖς καὶ
ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ μνημόσυνον
εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας

23Καλῶς γένοιτο Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τῷ ἔθνει Ιουδαίων ἐν τῇ
θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ ῥομφαία καὶ
ἐχθρὸς μακρυνθείη ἀπ' αὐτῶν. 24ἐὰν δὲ ἐνστῇ πόλεμος Ῥώμῃ
προτέρᾳ ἢ πᾶσιν τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κυριείᾳ
25 αὐτῶν, 25συμμαχήσει τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ιουδαίων, ὡς ἂν ὁ καιρὸς
ὑπογράφῃ αὐτοῖς, καρδίᾳ πλήρει· 26καὶ τοῖς πολεμοῦσιν οὐ
δώσουσιν οὐδὲ ἐπαρκέσουσιν σῖτον, ὅπλα, ἀργύριον, πλοῖα,
ὡς ἔδοξεν Ῥώμῃ· καὶ φυλάξονται τὰ φυλάγματα αὐτῶν

---

17 επελεξεν A
20 και> *Iudas machabeus* V L
26 ου δωσουσιν>93

---

17. EUPOLEMUS: *Cf.* II Mac. 4.11. HAKKOZ: A family of priests; *cf.* Ezra 2.61; I Chron. 4.8. TO ESTABLISH A TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP: On the treaty between the Jews and the Romans, see Introd. pp. 39–40.

19. ENTERING THE SENATE HOUSE: It was an established custom in Rome to invite foreign envoys to address the Senate; *cf.* Polybius 32.1; Livy 7.20. THEY BEGAN AND SAID: Lit. "answered and said." *Cf.* above 2.17.

20. AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE: From failure to mention *gerousia* or *presbyteroi* we infer either that the Jews had no council to represent them or, if they did, that the council was not in sympathy with the Hasmonaeans. Hence in his message to the Romans Judah speaks in the name of his brothers and the Jewish people.

22. ON BRASS TABLETS: The general practice of preserving documents. According to Josephus (416), the original decree was engraved on bronze tablets and deposited in the capitol, while a copy was sent to Judaea.

17Judah then chose Eupolemus, son of John, son of Hakkoz, and Jason, son of Eleazar, and sent them to Rome to establish a treaty of friendship and alliance, 18to prevail upon them to lift the yoke from them, since they saw that the kingdom of the Greeks was reducing Israel to slavery. 19They journeyed to Rome, though the way was very long, and
20 entering the Senate house, they began and said, 20"Judah Maccabee, his brothers, and the Jewish people have sent us to you, to effect an alliance and peace with you, so that we may be enrolled as your allies and friends."

21They accepted the proposal, 22and this is the copy of the letter, which they wrote in answer, on brass tablets, and sent back to Jerusalem to remain there among them as a memorial of peace and alliance.

23"May it be well with the Romans and the Jewish nation, on sea and land forever. May both sword and enemy be far from them. 24If, however, war shall be declared against Rome first, or against any of their allies, in any of their domains,
25 25the Jewish nation will be expected to fight at their side as allies, as the occasion shall dictate to them, whole-heartedly. 26To those who start the war, they shall neither give nor supply grain, arms, money, or ships, as Rome shall decide. They shall keep their stipulations without receiving anything in

---

23. MAY IT BE WELL WITH THE ROMANS AND THE JEWISH NATION: This is the usual form *quod bonum, faustum felixque sit populo Romano. Cf.* also Polybius 3.22 where the opening phrase of a treaty reads "There is to be friendship between the Romans and their allies . . ." *idem.* 21.42.

25. WHOLE-HEARTEDLY: Lit. "with a full heart." Heb.; II Kings 20.33, and *cf.* LXX *ibid.*

26. TO THOSE WHO START THE WAR THEY SHALL NEITHER GIVE: They, the Jews, shall not help those who make war, that is, those who make war against the Romans. They shall not provide the enemy with supplies. The phrase, "those who make war," is ambiguous. E. Täubler, *Imp. Romanum* pp. 157–187, 239–254, 1913, is undoubtedly correct in amending πολεμουσιν to πολεμίοις "enemies." Our text is to be construed as follows: To those enemies they (the Jews) shall neither give nor supply food. Livy 38.38, recording the treaties between the Romans and Antiochus III, has almost the identical phrasing *neu commeatu neu qua alia ope iuvato.* See further *ibid.* 38.38. Polybius 21.42. SHIPS: At this period the Jews had neither ports nor ships. *Cf.* Introd. pp. 39–40.

οὐθὲν λαβόντες. [27]κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ἐὰν ἔθνει Ιουδαίων συμβῇ προτέροις πόλεμος, συμμαχήσουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ ψυχῆς, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς ὁ καιρὸς ὑπογράφῃ· [28]καὶ τοῖς συμμαχοῦσιν οὐ δοθήσεται σῖτος, ὅπλα, ἀργύριον, πλοῖα, ὡς ἔδοξεν Ῥώμῃ· καὶ φυλάξονται τὰ φυλάγματα ταῦτα καὶ οὐ μετὰ δόλου. — [29]κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους οὕτως ἔστησαν Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ
30 δήμῳ τῶν Ιουδαίων. [30]ἐὰν δὲ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους βουλεύσωνται οὗτοι καὶ οὗτοι προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν, ποιήσονται ἐξ αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν, καὶ ὃ ἂν προσθῶσιν ἢ ἀφέλωσιν, ἔσται κύρια. [31]καὶ περὶ τῶν κακῶν, ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος συντελεῖται εἰς αὐτούς, ἐγράψαμεν αὐτῷ λέγοντες Διὰ τί ἐβάρυνας τὸν ζυγόν σου ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους ἡμῶν τοὺς συμμάχους Ιουδαίους; [32]ἐὰν οὖν ἔτι ἐντύχωσιν κατὰ σοῦ, ποιήσομεν αὐτοῖς τὴν κρίσιν καὶ πολεμήσομέν σε διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ διὰ τῆς ξηρᾶς.

9 [1]Καὶ ἤκουσεν Δημήτριος ὅτι ἔπεσεν Νικάνωρ καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ ἐν πολέμῳ, καὶ προσέθετο τὸν Βακχίδην καὶ τὸν Ἄλκιμον ἐκ δευτέρου ἀποστεῖλαι εἰς γῆν Ιουδα καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας μετ' αὐτῶν. [2]καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδὸν τὴν εἰς Γαλγαλα καὶ παρενέβαλον ἐπὶ Μαισαλωθ τὴν ἐν Αρβηλοις καὶ προκατελάβοντο αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπώλεσαν ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων πολλάς.

---

28 *συμμαχουσιν*] *πολεμουσιν* 55 *πλοια*> A *φυλαξονται*] *φυλασσουσιν* S *αυτων ουθεν λαμβανοντες* 64
31 *βασιλευς*>S *συμμαχους*]+*ημιν* S

IX
2 *παρενεβαλοσαν* A 62

---

28. NO GRAIN . . . SHALL BE GIVEN TO THE ALLIES: E. Täubler, is right in supposing here *πολεμουσιν* for *συμμαχουσιν*, meaning that the Romans should not give assistance to those fighting by the side of the enemies of the Jews. We must bear in mind that this treaty was written in Latin and then translated into Hebrew, and we may observe that the Latin document was translated into Greek and the Greek into Hebrew, which was retranslated into Greek when the book was rendered into this language. Hence ambiguities are to be expected. See further Introd. pp. 39–40. AS ROME SHALL DECIDE: In their treaties the Romans naturally sought to extend their own privileges while laying greater obligations on their allies. WITHOUT DECEIT: The official language was *sine dolo malo; cf.* Livy 38.11.

return. [27]On these same conditions, if war falls to the lot of the Jewish nation first, the Romans will assist as allies faithfully, as occasion shall dictate. [28]No grain, arms, money or ships shall be given to the allies as Rome shall decide. They shall keep these stipulations without deceit. [29]Thus on these conditions the Romans have established a compact with the
30 Jewish people. [30]If hereinafter either party shall decide to add or to subtract therefrom, they shall do so of their own volition, and whatsoever they add to or subtract therefrom shall be valid. [31]Moreover concerning the atrocities which King Demetrius is perpetrating against you, we have written to him saying, 'Why have you made your yoke heavy upon our friends and allies the Jews? [32]If they again appeal to us against you, we will demand satisfaction for them, and will make war upon you by sea and land.' "

9 When Demetrius heard that Nicanor and his army had fallen in battle, he again sent Bacchides and Alcimus for a second time into the land of Judah with the right wing of his army. [2]They marched by the Gilgal road and encamped against Mesaloth, in Arbela. They took it and killed many

---

31. MADE YOUR YOKE HEAVY: Heb.; *cf.* II Chron. 10.14.

32. WILL MAKE WAR UPON YOU: The Romans did not come to the assistance of Judah with an army to fight Demetrius, as was promised in the treaty. Such was their dual policy. Similarly, when Rome recognized Timarchus as King of Babylonia they abandoned him in his fight with Demetrius.

1. THE RIGHT WING: *I. e.*, from Syria. According to Josephus (421) the army started from Antioch. The Jews faced eastward and hence had the Syrian army on their right.

2. GILGAL: Josephus has 'Galilee.' Some MSS have 'Galgola' and 'Galaod.' AND CAMPED AGAINST MESALOTH IN ARBELA: It is very difficult to identify Mesaloth. Abel *op. cit.* 1924. p. 381, suggests that Mesaloth is not the name of a place but a transliteration of the Hebrew word *mesiloth*, steps, referring to those ascending to the road of Arbela, in Galilee, a district of caves. *Cf.* Josephus, *Vita* 188, where the village of the Cave of Arbela is mentioned. The Palestinian Talmud Ber. 1.1, speaks of the Valley of Arbela. A sage named Natai was called the Arbelite.

[3]καὶ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ πρώτου ἔτους τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ πεντηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ παρενέβαλον ἐπὶ Ιερουσαλημ· [4]καὶ ἀπῆραν καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Βερεαν ἐν εἴκοσι χιλιάσιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ δισχιλίᾳ ἵππῳ. [5]καὶ Ιουδας ἦν παρεμβεβληκὼς ἐν Ελασα, καὶ τρισχίλιοι ἄνδρες μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐκλεκτοί. [6]καὶ εἶδον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δυνάμεων ὅτι πολλοί εἰσιν, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα· καὶ ἐξερρύησαν πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, οὐ κατελείφθησαν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ἢ ὀκτακόσιοι ἄνδρες. [7]καὶ εἶδεν Ιουδας ὅτι ἀπερρύη ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἔθλιβεν αὐτόν, καὶ συνετρίβη τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχεν καιρὸν συναγαγεῖν αὐτούς, [8]καὶ ἐξελύθη καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς καταλειφθεῖσιν Ἀναστῶμεν καὶ ἀναβῶμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους ἡμῶν, ἐὰν ἄρα δυνώμεθα πολεμῆσαι πρὸς αὐτούς. [9]καὶ ἀπέστρεφον αὐτὸν λέγοντες Οὐ μὴ δυνώμεθα, ἀλλ' ἢ σῴζωμεν τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς τὸ νῦν, ἐπιστρέψωμεν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν καὶ πολεμήσωμεν πρὸς αὐτούς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀλίγοι. [10]καὶ εἶπεν Ιουδας Μὴ γένοιτο ποιῆσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο, φυγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰ ἤγγικεν ὁ καιρὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀποθάνωμεν ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ χάριν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ καταλίπωμεν αἰτίαν τῇ δόξῃ ἡμῶν. [11]καὶ ἀπῆρεν ἡ δύναμις ἀπὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς καὶ ἔστησαν εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐμερίσθη ἡ ἵππος εἰς δύο μέρη, καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται προεπορεύοντο τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ οἱ πρωταγωνισταὶ πάντες οἱ δυνατοί, Βακχίδης δὲ ἦν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι. [12]καὶ ἤγγισεν ἡ φάλαγξ ἐκ τῶν δύο μερῶν καὶ ἐφώνουν ταῖς σάλπιγξιν,

5 Βηρζηθω Jos. (422)
8 και εξελυθη>71 πολεμησαι αυτους A
9 δυνησωμεθα A 71 και επιστρεψουσιν 311 προς τους αδελφους 534 ημων+ απερρυησαν 56

3. THE FIRST MONTH OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SECOND YEAR: *I. e.*, Nisan, 161 BCE. The Jews began the year with the Autumn but counted months from the Spring, Nisan being the first month. Bacchides was despatched by Demetrius eight or nine weeks after the death of Nicanor, which occurred on the thirteenth day of Adar. See on 7.43.

4. MARCHED TO BEREA: Abel, *ibid.*, suggests that the original Hebrew had 'Beirath,' which he identifies with the modern El-Bireh, lying about ten miles north of Jerusalem on the road to Shechem (Nablus).

5. AT ELASA: According to Josephus (422) Judah encamped in a village

people. [3]In the first month of the one hundred and fifty-second year they encamped against Jerusalem. [4]Then they set out and marched to Berea, with twenty thousand men
5 and two thousand horses. [5]In the meanwhile Judah encamped at Elasa, with three thousand chosen men. [6]When they saw how great the number of the troops was, they were very much afraid. Many disappeared from the camp so that not more than eight hundred of them were left. [7]When Judah saw that his army was dwindling away, and that the battle was imminent, he was troubled in spirit, because he had no time left to gather them together. [8]Even though discouraged, he said to those who were left, "Let us arise and go against our enemies. Perhaps we shall still be able to fight against them."

[9]They tried to dissuade him, saying, "We have no chance of winning. Let us rather save ourselves now. We and our brothers will return and fight against them, but we are too few."

10 [10]Judah answered, "Far be it from me that I should do such a thing as to flee from them. If our time has come, let us die bravely for our brothers, and not leave an accusation against our honor."

[11]The army set out from the camp and stood in battle line against them, with the cavalry divided into two parts. The slingers and the archers marched in the vanguard of the army with all the first line shock-troops, while Bacchides was on the right wing. [12]The phalanx advanced from the two flanks, and sounded the trumpets. Judah's men also

---

named Berzetho (variants Zetho, Bethzetho). It is identified with the modern Birzlit NW of El-Bireh.

10. FAR BE IT FROM ME: Heb.; *cf.* Gen. 44.17. IF OUR TIME HAS COME: *I. e.*, the destined day of our death; *cf.* LXX. Lam. 4.18; Matt. 26.18. Some MSS omit "if." Judah with an army of eight hundred could not hope to withstand the forces of Bacchides. He preferred to die with honor than to flee.

11. THE ARMY: Of Judah, *cf.* B. et promovit exercitus Judae et exivit de castris et steterunt contra exercitum Bachidis et Alchimi.

καὶ ἐσάλπισαν οἱ παρὰ Ιουδου καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς σάλπιγξιν·
13 καὶ ἐσαλεύθη ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς τῶν παρεμβολῶν, καὶ
ἐγένετο ὁ πόλεμος συνημμένος ἀπὸ πρωίθεν ἕως ἑσπέρας.
14 καὶ εἶδεν Ιουδας ὅτι Βακχίδης καὶ τὸ στερέωμα τῆς παρεμ-
βολῆς ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς, καὶ συνῆλθον αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ εὔψυχοι
15 τῇ καρδίᾳ 15 καὶ συνετρίβη τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ
ἐδίωκεν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἕως Αζωτου ὄρους. 16 καὶ οἱ εἰς τὸ
ἀριστερὸν κέρας εἶδον ὅτι συνετρίβη τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, καὶ
ἐπέστρεψαν κατὰ πόδας Ιουδου καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν
ὄπισθεν. 17 καὶ ἐβαρύνθη ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ ἔπεσον τραυματίαι
πολλοὶ ἐκ τούτων καὶ ἐκ τούτων, 18 καὶ Ιουδας ἔπεσεν, καὶ
οἱ λοιποὶ ἔφυγον. 19 καὶ ἦρεν Ιωναθαν καὶ Σιμων Ιουδαν τὸν
ἀδελφὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τῶν πατέρων
20 αὐτοῦ ἐν Μωδεϊν. 20 καὶ ἔκλαυσαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκόψαντο αὐτὸν
πᾶς Ισραηλ κοπετὸν μέγαν καὶ ἐπένθουν ἡμέρας πολλὰς καὶ
εἶπον 21 πῶς ἔπεσεν δυνατὸς σῴζων τὸν Ισραηλ 22 καὶ τὰ περισσὰ
τῶν λόγων Ιουδου καὶ τῶν πολέμων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραγαθιῶν,
ὧν ἐποίησεν, καὶ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ οὐ κατεγράφη·
πολλὰ γὰρ ἦν σφόδρα.

---

13 εως] μεχρι S
15 Αζα ορους Jos. (429)
16 μερος 19
19 πατηρ Jos. (432)

---

13. THE EARTH SHOOK: Heb.; *cf.* II Samuel 22.8. THE CONFLICT RAGED FROM MORNING UNTIL EVENING: According to Josephus, who does not state when it began, the battle continued until sunset. Eight hundred men stood against Bacchides's army of twenty-two thousand through an entire day.

15. THE SLOPES OF THE MOUNTAIN: The text has "the Mount of Azothus," and Josephus "Mount Aza." It is obviously not Ashdod, which was far from Jerusalem. Michaelis (*Cf.* Grimm *ad. loc.*) suggests that the Hebrew was *Ashdoth ha-har* the slopes of the mountain. Torrey (JBL. 1934, p. 32) believes that the Hebrew text had *ad ma'aleh hā-hār* "up to the slopes of the hill." Probably the Hebrew text had *Ashdoth hapisgah* "the slopes of the mountain (height)"; *cf.* Targum Jonathan and Onkelos, Deut. 4.49; 3.17, and see LXX ad. loc. The Greek translator understood *Ashdoth* as a place name and thus rendered it "the Mount of Azothus."

17. WERE SLAIN: Lit. "fell wounded."

19. JONATHAN AND SIMON TOOK JUDAH THEIR BROTHER: According to Josephus, Jonathan and Simon obtained Judah's body under a truce. Bacchides would hardly have given up the body of Judah, whom he regarded as an arch rebel, and murderer of his colleague Nicanor, unless

sounded their trumpets. [13]The earth shook with the battle
cry of the armies, and the conflict raged from morning until
evening. [14]When Judah saw that Bacchides and the main
strength of the army was on the right wing, all those who
15 were stout of heart went with him, [15]and the right wing was
crushed by them. He pursued them to the slopes of the
mountain. [16]When the men on the left wing saw that the right
wing had been defeated, they wheeled around in the wake of
Judah and his men from the rear. [17]Then the battle became
desperate, and many on both sides were slain. [18]Judah fell
and the rest fled. [19]Jonathan and Simon took Judah their
brother, and buried him in the sepulchre of his father at
20 Modin. [20]There they wept for him, and all Israel made great
lamentation for him, and mourned for him many days, say-
ing, [21]"How is the mighty savior of Israel fallen!"

[22]The rest of the acts of Judah, his battles, the exploits
which he performed, and his greatness are not written down;
for they were very many.

---

he received certain concessions, of which Josephus does not mention the details. But perhaps our text is right: the brothers snatched the body of Judah away before the Syrians had a chance to seize it.

22. AND HIS GREATNESS: *Cf.* II Kings 10.34. Josephus (434) adds that Judah was High Priest for three years, which is wrong. Neither his father was a High Priest, nor did Judah receive this office from the Jews or the Syrians. The first High Priest of the family of the Hasmonaeans was Judah's brother Jonathan, who was appointed by Alexander Balas. See 10.20 below. In his *Vita*, Josephus says that Jonathan was the first to attain the high priesthood; *cf. Ant.* 20.237. ARE NOT WRITTEN DOWN FOR THEY WERE VERY MANY: The author wishes to emphasize that much more might be written of Judah's prowess. Schürer (1.222) thinks that the attempt of Judah and the Jewish nationalists to match swords with the mighty forces of Syria was vain. He holds that brilliant as the early achievements of Judah had been, they were largely due to the recklessness and self-confidence of the Syrians, and that the final Hasmonaean victory came about through the voluntary concessions of the claimants to the Syrian throne. But successful revolutions are often due to wrong tactics and over-confidence of those in power. Judah and his followers succeeded brilliantly in establishing in Judaea a force with which the contenders for the Syrian throne not only had to reckon, but whose aid they had to seek. Judah and his fellow nationalists made the Jews a factor in the maneuvers of rivals for the Syrian throne.

23Καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Ιουδου ἐξέκυψαν οἱ
ἄνομοι ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ὁρίοις Ισραηλ, καὶ ἀνέτειλαν πάντες
οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀδικίαν. 24ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις
ἐγενήθη λιμὸς μέγας σφόδρα, καὶ αὐτομόλησεν ἡ χώρα μετ'
25 αὐτῶν. 25καὶ ἐξέλεξεν Βακχίδης τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἄνδρας καὶ
κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς κυρίους τῆς χώρας. 26καὶ ἐξεζήτουν καὶ
ἠρεύνων τοὺς φίλους Ιουδου καὶ ἦγον αὐτοὺς πρὸς Βακχίδην,
καὶ ἐξεδίκα αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐνέπαιζεν αὐτοῖς. 27καὶ ἐγένετο θλῖψις
μεγάλη ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ, ἥτις οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας οὐκ
ὤφθη προφήτης αὐτοῖς. 28καὶ ἠθροίσθησαν πάντες οἱ φίλοι
Ιουδου καὶ εἶπον τῷ Ιωναθαν 29'Αφ' οὗ ὁ ἀδελφός σου Ιουδας
τετελεύτηκεν, καὶ ἀνὴρ ὅμοιος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξελθεῖν καὶ
εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ Βακχίδην καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐχθραί-
30 νουσιν τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν· 30νῦν οὖν σὲ ᾑρετισάμεθα σήμερον
τοῦ εἶναι ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν εἰς ἄρχοντα καὶ ἡγούμενον τοῦ
πολεμῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον ἡμῶν. 31καὶ ἐπεδέξατο Ιωναθαν ἐν
τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἡγησιν καὶ ἀνέστη ἀντὶ Ιουδου τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ.

32Καὶ ἔγνω Βακχίδης καὶ ἐζήτει αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι. 33καὶ
ἔγνω Ιωναθαν καὶ Σιμων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ
μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον Θεκωε καὶ παρενέβαλον
ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ λάκκου Ασφαρ. 34καὶ ἔγνω Βακχίδης τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
τῶν σαββάτων καὶ ἦλθεν αὐτὸς καὶ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα αὐτοῦ
35 πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου. — 35καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ
ἡγούμενον τοῦ ὄχλου καὶ παρεκάλεσεν τοὺς Ναβαταίους
φίλους αὐτοῦ τοῦ παραθέσθαι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀποσκευὴν αὐτῶν

---

23 αδικιαν] ανομισαν 98
26 και εξηραυνων A
29 και εισελθειν> A
31 εν τω καιρω> 71 — ηγησιν *in tempore illo* >
(cod. Sangerman. Paris)
35 τον ιωαννην αδελφον 19

---

24. AND THE COUNTRY WENT OVER TO THEIR SIDE: *I. e.*, they made peace; *cf.* LXX Samuel 10.19. Owing to the death of Judah and the famine many went over to the Hellenized Jews and to Bacchides. V has "They and all their country yielded to Bacchides"; B *In illis diebus facta est fames magna super terram iudaeam, et abiit ultro rigio iudaeorum cum eis.*
27. SINCE PROPHETS HAD CEASED: Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi were the last prophets. See also *Seder Olam* 30.

[23]After the death of Judah, it came about that the law-
breakers began to show their heads in all the borders of
Israel, and all the wrongdoers sprang up. [24]At that time, a
very great famine arose, so that the country went over to
25 their side. [25]Bacchides chose irreligious men and made them
rulers of the country. [26]They diligently searched for the
friends of Judah and brought them to Bacchides. He tor-
tured and tormented them, [27]with the result that there
was such great distress in Israel as had not been since proph-
ets had ceased appearing to them. [28]All the friends of Judah
gathered together and said to Jonathan, [29]"Since your brother
Judah has died, there is no one like him to wage war against
our enemies, against Bacchides, and against all those of our
30 nation who hate us; [30]therefore we have chosen you this day
to be our ruler and leader in his stead, to carry on our war."

[31]Jonathan accepted the leadership at that time, and took
over in place of his brother Judah.

[32]When Bacchides found this out, he sought to kill him.
[33]Jonathan and Simon his brother and all his men learned of
this, and fled to the wilderness of Tekoa, where they en-
camped by the water of the pool of Asphar. [34]Bacchides
found this out on the Sabbath day and came across the
Jordan with all his army.

35 [35]Now, he had sent his brother in command of the irregular
troops and had entreated the Nabataeans as his friends for
permission to leave their baggage, which was considerable,

---

33. THE WILDERNESS OF TEKOA: Modern Teku'a is located about five miles SE of Bethlehem. It was the birthplace of the prophet Amos. See Amos 1.1. The Wilderness of Tekoa, mentioned in the Bible, took its name from the city; it extended from the city to the Dead Sea. II Chron. 20.20; *cf.* Abel *op. cit.* 1925, p. 198. THE POOL OF ASPHAR: According to Abel, pp. 196–7, modern Bir ez-Za'feran, about three miles south of Tekoa. G. Smith (EB 343) identifies it with modern Bir-Selhub, a reservoir some six miles SW of Engedi.

34. BACCHIDES FOUND THIS OUT: This verse is out of place; it belongs after verse 42.

35. HE: Jonathan. THE NABATAEANS AS HIS FRIENDS: See above 5.25. THEIR BAGGAGE: Flocks and herds.

τὴν πολλήν. 36καὶ ἐξῆλθον οἱ υἱοὶ Ιαμβρι οἱ ἐκ Μηδαβα καὶ
συνέλαβον Ιωαννην καὶ πάντα, ὅσα εἶχεν, καὶ ἀπῆλθον
ἔχοντες. 37μετὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἀπήγγειλαν Ιωναθαν
καὶ Σιμωνι τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ὅτι Υἱοὶ Ιαμβρι ποιοῦσιν γάμον
μέγαν καὶ ἄγουσιν τὴν νύμφην ἀπὸ Ναδαβαθ, θυγατέρα
ἑνὸς τῶν μεγάλων μεγιστάνων Χαναάν, μετὰ παραπομπῆς
μεγάλης. 38καὶ ἐμνήσθησαν τοῦ αἵματος Ιωαννου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνέβησαν καὶ ἐκρύβησαν ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τοῦ
ὄρους. 39καὶ ἦραν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ
θροῦς καὶ ἀποσκευὴ πολλή, καὶ ὁ νυμφίος ἐξῆλθεν καὶ οἱ
φίλοι αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῶν
40 μετὰ τυμπάνων καὶ μουσικῶν καὶ ὅπλων πολλῶν. 40καὶ
ἐξανέστησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνέδρου καὶ ἀπέκτειναν
αὐτούς, καὶ ἔπεσον τραυματίαι πολλοί, καὶ οἱ ἐπίλοιποι
ἔφυγον εἰς τὸ ὄρος· καὶ ἔλαβον πάντα τὰ σκῦλα αὐτῶν.
41καὶ μετεστράφη ὁ γάμος εἰς πένθος καὶ φωνὴ μουσικῶν
αὐτῶν εἰς θρῆνον. 42καὶ ἐξεδίκησαν τὴν ἐκδίκησιν αἵματος
ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέστρεψαν εἰς τὸ ἕλος τοῦ Ιορδάνου. —
43καὶ ἤκουσεν Βακχίδης καὶ ἦλθεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων
ἕως τῶν κρηπίδων τοῦ Ιορδάνου ἐν δυνάμει πολλῇ. 44καὶ
εἶπεν Ιωναθαν τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ 'Αναστῶμεν δὴ καὶ πολεμή-
σωμεν περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, οὐ γάρ ἐστιν σήμερον ὡς
45 ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν· 45ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος ἐξ ἐναντίας
καὶ ἐξόπισθεν ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦ Ιορδάνου ἔνθεν καὶ
ἔνθεν καὶ ἕλος καὶ δρυμός, οὐκ ἔστιν τόπος τοῦ ἐκκλῖναι·

39 εξηλδε>19 οπλων] οχλων 62 46 (Jos. 13. 20).
43 Βακχιδης+οτι επεστρεψεν ιωναθαν 19
44 παρ] αδελφοις A
45 και εξοπισθεν ημων>106

36. THE SONS OF AMBRI: Josephus has "the sons of Amaraios," *i. e.*, the Amorites. This would correspond to Num. 21.31, where Medaba is spoken of as a city of the Amorites. MEDABA: Originally a Moabite city, which later passed to the Amorites and was captured by the Israelites and assigned to the tribe of Reuben. This city is mentioned on the Moabite stone. It is situated south of Heshbon and is about twelve miles east of the Dead Sea.

37. FROM NADABATH: So in Josephus and V. Some MSS read Nabath. *Cf.* Abel p. 199.

38. THE SHELTER OF THE MOUNTAIN: *Cf.* LXX I Sam. 25.20.

with them. [36]But the sons of Ambri, from Medaba, came out
and took John and everything that he had, and made off with
it. [37]After this, word was brought back to Jonathan and
Simon his brother that the sons of Ambri were celebrating a
large wedding, and were bringing in the bride, a daughter of
one of the great grandees of Canaan, from Nadabath, with a
great escort. [38]They were mindful of the blood of John their
brother, so they went up and hid under the shelter of the
mountain. [39]They lifted their eyes and saw, and behold there
was confusion, and much baggage, for the bridegroom had
come forth with his friends and his relatives to meet them,
with timbrels, musicians and many weapons. [40]They rose up
40 against them from their ambush and slew them. Many were
killed and the rest fled to the mountain. They took all their
spoils. [41]Thus the wedding was turned into mourning, and the
voice of their musicians into lamentation. [42]Having fully
avenged their brother's blood, they turned back to the marsh-
land of the Jordan.

[43]When Bacchides heard of it, he came on the Sabbath day
to the banks of the Jordan, with a great army. Then Jonathan
said to his men, [44]"Let us stand up now and fight for our
lives, for today is not like yesterday nor the day before.
45 [45]Here the battle is before us and behind us. The water of the
Jordan is on one side, while marsh-land and wood-land are

---

39. TO MEET THEM: The bride and her friends.

40. MANY WERE KILLED: Josephus 13.21 says that about four hundred were killed.

42. THE MARSH-LAND OF THE JORDAN: The ford nearest the Dead Sea, now called el Helu.

43. ON THE SABBATH DAY: Josephus adds that Jonathan would not fight on the Sabbath because it was forbidden by the Law. TO THE BANKS OF THE JORDAN: *I. e.*, the ford of the Jordan.

44. IS NOT LIKE YESTERDAY NOR THE DAY BEFORE: *Cf.* LXX Gen. 31.2. The situation is now more dangerous than it ever was before.

45. THERE IS NO PLACE TO TURN AWAY: The battle apparently took place on the east side of the Jordan. The Syrians were facing them, with the waters of the Jordan on the one side and the marsh and the jungle on the other.

46νῦν οὖν κεκράξατε εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅπως διασωθῆτε ἐκ
χειρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν. 47καὶ συνῆψεν ὁ πόλεμος· καὶ
ἐξέτεινεν Ιωναθαν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ πατάξαι τὸν Βακχίδην,
καὶ ἐξέκλινεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω. 48καὶ ἐνεπήδησεν
Ιωναθαν καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Ιορδάνην καὶ διεκολύμ-
βησαν εἰς τὸ πέραν, καὶ οὐ διέβησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸν Ιορδάνην.
49ἔπεσον δὲ παρὰ Βακχίδου τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ εἰς χιλίους
50 ἄνδρας. 50καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ, καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν
πόλεις ὀχυρὰς ἐν τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ, τὸ ὀχύρωμα τὸ ἐν Ιεριχω καὶ
τὴν Αμμαους καὶ τὴν Βαιθωρων καὶ τὴν Βαιθηλ καὶ τὴν
Θαμναθα Φαραθων καὶ τὴν Τεφων, ἐν τείχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς
καὶ πύλαις καὶ μοχλοῖς· 51καὶ ἔθετο φρουρὰν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῦ
ἐχθραίνειν τῷ Ισραηλ. 52καὶ ὠχύρωσεν τὴν πόλιν τὴν
Βαιθσουραν καὶ Γαζαρα καὶ τὴν ἄκραν καὶ ἔθετο ἐν αὐταῖς
δυνάμεις καὶ παραθέσεις βρωμάτων. 53καὶ ἔλαβεν τοὺς υἱοὺς
τῶν ἡγουμένων τῆς χώρας ὅμηρα καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ
ἄκρᾳ ἐν Ιερουσαλημ ἐν φυλακῇ.

54Καὶ ἐν ἔτει τρίτῳ καὶ πεντηκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ τῷ

---

49 τρισχιλιοι ανδρες 55 311 53 ελαβον A+o βακχιδης 311

---

47. JONATHAN STRETCHED OUT HIS HAND: Apparently there was a personal encounter between Jonathan and Bacchides.

48. AND SWAM ACROSS TO THE OTHER SIDE: To the west shore, to reach the wilderness of Judaea. BUT THEY DID NOT CROSS: *I. e.* the Syrians.

49. A THOUSAND OF BACCHIDES' MEN WERE SLAIN ON THAT DAY: Josephus says two thousand. Although Bacchides' victory over Jonathan was not complete Jonathan was confined to the Wilderness of Judaea in the South, and Bacchides had complete rule over the country.

50. HE RETURNED TO JERUSALEM: After gaining the upper hand over Jonathan, Bacchides left for Jerusalem. THE STRONGHOLD IN JERICHO: The fortress at Jericho. According to Josephus, the city itself was fortified. EMMAUS: See 3.40 above. It was the gateway to Jerusalem and situated about twenty miles NW of Jerusalem. *Cf.* also *Jewish Wars* 5.13.1. BETH HORON: About ten miles north of Jerusalem; *cf.* above 3.16. BETHEL: Modern Beitin, about twelve miles north of Jerusalem. According to Eusebius *op. cit.* p. 4, it was situated about eight miles NW of Jericho on the road to Shechem (Nablus). TIMNATH: The Bible mentions three places called Timna or Timnath. One was situated in Mt. Ephraim (Josh. 19.15), another was between Dan and Judah (Josh. 15.10; Jud. 14.1), and still another was in the hills of Judaea (Gen. 38.12–14). Probably Timnath here refers to the city on the border between Dan and Judah,

on the other. There is no place to turn away. [46]Cry therefore
unto Heaven, that you may be saved from the power of our
enemies."

[47]The battle began. Jonathan stretched out his hand to
strike Bacchides, but he retreated from him to the rear.
[48]Jonathan and his men leaped into the Jordan, and swam
across to the other side, but they did not cross the Jordan
after them. [49]Fully a thousand of Bacchides' men were slain
on that day.

50 [50]Then he returned to Jerusalem. They built fortified cities
in Judaea, the stronghold in Jericho, Emmaus, Beth Horon,
Bethel, Timnath, Pharathon and Tephon, with high walls
and gates and bars. [51]He set a garrison in them to stir up
enmity against Israel. [52]He fortified the city of Beth Zur,
Gazara and the citadel. He put troops in them and stores of
food. [53]He also took the sons of the leaders of the country as
hostages, and put them in the citadel in Jerusalem under
guard.

[54]In the one hundred and fifty-third year, in the second

---

modern el Tibne, about twelve miles NW of Bethel. *Cf.* Abel 1925, 205. *Cf.* also Palestinian Talmud Sota I. PHARATHON: The modern Ferata, SW of Shechem (Nablus). TEPHON: Most probably Tappuah; *cf.* Josh. 15.53; 16.8. About three miles west of Hebron. *Cf.* also Schürer 1.224. n. 5.

52. BETH ZUR GAZARA: See on 4.29.15. AND THE CITADEL: *I. e.*, Akra. See on 5.53 above. To strengthen the position of the Syrians in Judaea, Bacchides, besides fortifying the citadel in Jerusalem, established a system of defences against Jonathan with Jerusalem as its center, with a line of fortresses from the NW to the SW of Jerusalem, where armed forces were placed.

53. TOOK THE SONS OF THE LEADERS OF THE COUNTRY AS HOSTAGES: Bacchides adopted the policy of the Romans, who took the leading men of their defeated enemies as hostages to make certain they would not revolt.

54. ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THIRD YEAR: 161–60 BCE. THE SECOND MONTH: Iyyar, in the Spring of 160. THE WALL OF THE INNER COURT OF THE SANCTUARY: There were three Courts in the Temple: the Court of the Priests; the Court of the Israelites; and the Court of the Women. A wall separated the Temple Mount, where the Gentiles were allowed to enter, from the inner Court where they were forbidden. Alcimus tore this wall down, apparently to make no distinction between Jews and Gentiles and to allow pagans free access to the Courts. *Cf.* M. Middot 2.3. THE WORKS OF THE PROPHETS: *I. e.*, Haggai, Zechariah.

μηνὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐπέταξεν Ἄλκιμος καθαιρεῖν τὸ τεῖχος
τῆς αὐλῆς τῶν ἁγίων τῆς ἐσωτέρας· καὶ καθεῖλεν τὰ ἔργα
55 τῶν προφητῶν καὶ ἐνήρξατο τοῦ καθαιρεῖν. [55]ἐν τῷ καιρῷ
ἐκείνῳ ἐπλήγη Ἄλκιμος, καὶ ἐνεποδίσθη τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ἀπεφράγη τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ παρελύθη καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο
ἔτι λαλῆσαι λόγον καὶ ἐντείλασθαι περὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ.
[56]καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἄλκιμος ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ μετὰ βασάνου
μεγάλης. [57]καὶ εἶδεν Βακχίδης ὅτι ἀπέθανεν Ἄλκιμος, καὶ
ἐπέστρεψεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ ἡσύχασεν ἡ γῆ Ιουδα
ἔτη δύο.

[58]Καὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο πάντες οἱ ἄνομοι λέγοντες Ἰδοὺ
Ιωναθαν καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ κατοικοῦσιν πεποιθότες·
νῦν οὖν ἀνάξομεν τὸν Βακχίδην, καὶ συλλήμψεται αὐτοὺς
πάντας ἐν νυκτὶ μιᾷ. [59]καὶ πορευθέντες συνεβουλεύσαντο
60 αὐτῷ. [60]καὶ ἀπῆρεν τοῦ ἐλθεῖν μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ
ἀπέστειλεν λάθρᾳ ἐπιστολὰς πᾶσιν τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτοῦ
τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ, ὅπως συλλάβωσιν τὸν Ιωναθαν καὶ τοὺς
μετ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο, ὅτι ἐγνώσθη ἡ βουλὴ αὐτῶν.
[61]καὶ συνέλαβον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς χώρας τῶν ἀρχηγῶν
τῆς κακίας εἰς πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς.
[62]καὶ ἐξεχώρησεν Ιωναθαν καὶ Σιμων καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς
Βαιθβασι τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν τὰ καθῃρημένα
αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐστερέωσαν αὐτήν. [63]καὶ ἔγνω Βακχίδης καὶ
συνήγαγεν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ιουδαίας
παρήγγειλεν· [64]καὶ ἐλθὼν παρενέβαλεν ἐπὶ Βαιθβασι καὶ
ἐπολέμησεν αὐτὴν ἡμέρας πολλὰς καὶ ἐποίησεν μηχανάς.
65 [65]καὶ ἀπέλιπεν Ιωναθαν Σιμωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ

---

61 εις πεντηκοντα ανδρας>S L

62 ανεχωρησεν 311+απ αυτων S βαιθβασσει

---

55. HAD A STROKE: Probably apoplectic. CONCERNING HIS HOUSEHOLD: Heb.; *cf.* II Sam. 17.23.

57. HE RETURNED TO THE KING: The author dates the departure of Bacchides after the death of Alcimus, or rather the occasion of his death. It is probable that Bacchides, after fortifying many places around Jerusalem and placing his men in the citadel, did not fear danger from the Hasmoneans, since they were far in the Negeb in the marshes of the Jordan, and felt it safe to return to Syria. FOR TWO YEARS: To 158 BCE.

month, Alcimus gave the command to tear down the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary, thus destroying the works
55 of the prophets when he began to tear it down. [55]At that very moment Alcimus had a stroke, and his functions were impaired and his speech was impeded. He became paralyzed and was no longer able to say a word or to give orders concerning his household.

[56]Alcimus died at that time in great torment. [57]When Bacchides saw that Alcimus was dead, he returned to the king, and the land of Judah was quiet for two years.

[58]Then all the law-breakers took counsel, saying, "Here are Jonathan and his men living confidently in quiet security. Let us bring Bacchides back that he may arrest them all in one night."

60 [59]They went to confer with him. [60]He set out and came with a great army, and sent off letters in secret to all of his allies in Judaea, to arrest Jonathan and his men, but they were not able to do so because their plot became known. [61]They in turn arrested about fifty of the men of the country who were ring-leaders of the wicked plot, and slew them. [62]Jonathan and Simon and their men withdrew to Bethbasi, in the wilderness country, and he built up its ruins and they strengthened it. [63]When Bacchides learned about it, he gathered all his host together, and sent off word to the men of Judaea; [64]then he went to encamp against Bethbasi, and fought against it for many days, after having constructed siege engines.

65 [65]Jonathan left his brother Simon in the city, and went out

---

61. ARRESTED ABOUT FIFTY OF THE MEN: Some MSS omit the number; see critical note. AND SLEW THEM: Jonathan killed fifty of the ring-leaders who were responsible for the invasion of Judaea by Bacchides. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.1.5 (25) records that Bacchides killed fifty of the Jewish leaders; *cf.* v. 69 where our author says that Bacchides, enraged, slew many Jews. Josephus apparently confused the two verses and so ascribes the slaying of fifty Jewish leaders to Bacchides rather than to Jonathan.

62. WITHDREW TO BETHBASI: Josephus has "Bethalaga"; Josippon "Bersheba." Abel, p. 214, identifies this place with Khirbet Beit-bassa in the wilderness of Judaea, about three miles east of Tekoa.

πόλει καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ἦλθεν ἐν ἀριθμῷ. 66καὶ ἐπάταξεν Οδομηρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Φασιρων ἐν τῷ σκηνώματι αὐτῶν, καὶ ἤρξαντο τύπτειν καὶ ἀνέβαινον ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν. 67καὶ Σιμων καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐνεπύρισαν τὰς μηχανάς· 68καὶ ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς τὸν Βακχίδην, καὶ συνετρίβη ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔθλιβον αὐτὸν σφόδρα, ὅτι ἦν ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἔφοδος αὐτοῦ κενή. 69καὶ ὠργίσθη ἐν θυμῷ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς ἀνόμοις τοῖς συμβουλεύσασιν αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ἐξ αὐτῶν πολλοὺς καὶ ἐβουλεύσατο
70 τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ. 70καὶ ἐπέγνω Ιωναθαν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις τοῦ συνθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην καὶ ἀποδοῦναι αὐτοῖς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν. 71καὶ ἐπεδέξατο καὶ ἐποίησεν κατὰ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καὶ ὤμοσεν αὐτῷ μὴ ἐκζητῆσαι αὐτῷ κακὸν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ· 72καὶ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἣν ᾐχμαλώτευσεν τὸ πρότερον ἐκ γῆς Ιουδα, καὶ ἀποστρέψας ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ προσέθετο ἔτι ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ ὅρια αὐτῶν. 73καὶ κατέπαυσεν ῥομφαία ἐξ Ισραηλ· καὶ

66 επεταξεν 340 τοις σκηνωμασιν 311 ενερξατο 340 αναβαινειν 74
69 ωργισθησαν S εβουλευσαντο S 56 542
70 απεστιλαν S
72 την γην ιουδα 46
73 Ιωναθαν>71 λαον+Ισραηλ 19 93

66. AND HE STRUCK DOWN ODOMERA AND HIS BROTHERS: Some MSS have *'επέταξεν* "placed in command," which would imply that Odomera and his brothers were Jonathan's friends. Jonathan did not attack them; on the contrary they were his allies in his struggle against Bacchides and so Josephus understod it when he said, "Jonathan . . . having gathered together a large force among those who sympathized with him, he fell upon Bacchides' camp" (13.28). On the other hand Josippon says "He (Jonathan) killed Adaran and his brothers who were with Bakirus (Bacchides)." It is probable that Josephus made use of the Greek translation, in which the word *ἐπέταξεν* was already found, while the author of Josippon had before him the original Hebrew. Instead of Odomera some MSS have Adaran as is found in Josippon. AND THE SONS OF PHASIRON: Probably heads of Bedouin tribes. AND HE BEGAN TO STRIKE AND TO ATTACK WITH TROOPS: The subject is Jonathan; see critical note. V has *et coepit caedere et crescere in virtutibus*. He began to slay and to increase in forces.
68. HIS PLAN AND HIS ATTACK WERE IN VAIN: Bacchides did not expect such stubborn resistance from Jonathan, as the Hellenized Jews promised him an easy victory.

into the country, with a small number of men. [66]He struck down Odomera and his brothers and the tribe of Phasiron in their tents. And he began to strike and to attack with troops. [67]Simon and his men sortied from the city, and set fire to the siege engines, [68]and fought against Bacchides, whom they defeated. They pressed him hard, for his plan and his attack were in vain. [69]Then he became enraged at the law-breakers who had advised him to come into the country. He slew many of them, and decided to return to his own land.
70 [70]When Jonathan heard about this he sent ambassadors to him to set before him a proposal of peace and to obtain the release of the prisoners. [71]He agreed and kept his word. He swore to him never to seek evil against him as long as he lived. [72]He gave back to him the prisoners whom he had taken before from the land of Judah. He went away and returned to his own land, nor did he ever again come to the land of Judaea. [73]Thus the sword ceased from the people

69. THEN HE BECAME ENRAGED . . . SLEW MANY OF THEM: To cover up his unsuccessful attempt to destroy Jonathan and to save his face, Bacchides put the blame on the Hellenized Jews, whom he accused of deceiving him, and so slew many of them.

70. WHEN JONATHAN HEARD: Jonathan sensed the dissatisfaction of Bacchides with the Hellenized Jews and thought it a good opportunity to conclude a *modus vivendi* with Bacchides; hence he sent ambassadors with a proposal of peace.

72. TO THE LAND OF JUDAEA: Our text has "into their borders"; *cf.* critical note.

73. THE SWORD CEASED FROM ISRAEL: Jonathan enjoyed peace from the time Bacchides left Judaea until Apollonius, governor of Coele Syria, attacked the city of Jabne. This ten year period of tranquillity gave Jonathan time to organize his forces to fight for the independence of Judaea. JONATHAN DWELT IN MICHMASH: Modern Mukhmas, about nine miles north of Jerusalem and about four miles SE of Bethel. It was here that Saul and Jonathan defeated the Philistines; *cf.* I Sam. 13.2; 14.1–17. Jonathan chose Michmash because he could not easily be taken by surprise there. BEGAN TO JUDGE THE PEOPLE: As the result of the peace made with Bacchides, Jonathan became the recognized leader in Judaea, since he had no rival after the death of the High Priest Alcimus. DESTROYED THE IRRELIGIOUS OUT OF ISRAEL: This shows Jonathan became powerful enough in Judaea to punish those who favored Hellenization. Judaea was still a dependency of the Syrian government and Jonathan was not recognized as the representative of the Jewish people, nor was he elected High Priest by the Jews.

ὤκησεν Ιωναθαν ἐν Μαχμας, καὶ ἤρξατο Ιωναθαν κρίνειν τὸν λαὸν καὶ ἠφάνισεν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἐξ Ισραηλ.

10 [1]Καὶ ἐν ἔτει ἑξηκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἀνέβη Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς καὶ κατελάβετο Πτολεμαίδα, καὶ ἐπεδέξαντο αὐτόν, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐκεῖ. [2]καὶ ἤκουσεν Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ συνήγαγεν δυνάμεις πολλὰς σφόδρα καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῷ εἰς πόλεμον. [3]καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Δημήτριος πρὸς Ιωναθαν ἐπιστολὰς λόγοις εἰρηνικοῖς ὥστε μεγαλῦναι αὐτόν· [4]εἶπεν γάρ Προφθάσωμεν τοῦ εἰρήνην θεῖναι μετ' αὐτῶν πρὶν ἢ θεῖναι αὐτὸν μετὰ
5 Ἀλεξάνδρου καθ' ἡμῶν· [5]μνησθήσεται γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν, ὧν συνετελέσαμεν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔθνος. [6]καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν συναγαγεῖν δυνάμεις καὶ κατασκευάζειν ὅπλα καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν σύμμαχον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ ὅμηρα τὰ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ εἶπεν παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ. [7]καὶ ἦλθεν Ιωναθαν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἀνέγνω τὰς ἐπιστολὰς εἰς τὰ ὦτα παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας. [8]καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν, ὅτε ἤκουσαν ὅτι ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξουσίαν συναγαγεῖν δύναμιν. [9]καὶ παρέδωκαν οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας Ιωναθαν τὰ ὅμηρα, καὶ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοὺς
10 τοῖς γονεῦσιν αὐτῶν. [10]καὶ ᾤκησεν Ιωναθαν ἐν Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἤρξατο οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ καινίζειν τὴν πόλιν. [11]καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς ποιοῦντας τὰ ἔργα οἰκοδομεῖν τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸ ὄρος Σιων κυκλόθεν ἐκ λίθων τετραπόδων εἰς ὀχύρωσιν, καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως. [12]καὶ ἔφυγον οἱ ἀλλογενεῖς οἱ ὄντες ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν, οἷς ᾠκοδόμησεν Βακχίδης, [13]καὶ κατέλιπεν ἕκαστος τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ· [14]πλὴν ἐν Βαιθσουροις ὑπελείφθησάν τινες τῶν καταλιπόντων τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰ προστάγματα· ἦν γὰρ εἰς φυγαδευτήριον.

X
3 μεγαλυνθηναι S
5 των κακων>93 V
10 ηκουσεν A
11 τετραπεδων S τετραγωνων A, Jos. (13.41)

1. ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTIETH YEAR: 154–53 BCE. ALEXANDER EPIPHANES THE SON OF ANTIOCHUS: Alexander, surnamed Balas, was a native of Smyrna, and not the son of Antiochus Epiphanes. Josephus also calls him the son of Antiochus Epiphanes. The Roman Senate likewise accepted Alexander as the legitimate heir to the Syrian throne. *Cf.* Introd. p. 57.

of Israel. And Jonathan dwelt in Michmash, and began to judge the people, and destroyed the irreligious out of Israel.

10 In the one hundred and sixtieth year, Alexander Epiphanes, son of Antiochus, went up and took possession of Ptolemais. They welcomed him, and he reigned there as king. [2]When King Demetrius heard about it, he gathered together many troops and went out to meet him in battle. [3]Then Demetrius sent a letter to Jonathan with peaceful words, to flatter him, [4]for he said, "Let us be beforehand in making peace with them, before he makes peace with Alex-
5 ander against us; [5]for he will remember all we have done to him, his brothers and his nation."

[6]He gave him authority to assemble troops, to equip them fully with arms, and to be his ally. He gave orders to hand over to him the hostages in the citadel. [7]Jonathan went to Jerusalem and read the letter in the hearing of all the people and the men who were in the citadel. [8]They were greatly frightened when they heard that the king had given him authority to gather an army. [9]The men in the citadel therefore handed over the hostages to Jonathan, and he re-
10 turned them to their parents. [10]Jonathan thereupon took up residence in Jerusalem, and began to build and restore the city. [11]He ordered the men who were doing the work to build the walls and to encircle Mount Zion with four-foot stones for defense, and this they did. [12]The foreigners who were in the strongholds that Bacchides had built fled; [13]each one left his place, and went back to his own country. [14]Only in Bethsura some of those who had forsaken the Law and the commandments were left, for it served as a city of refuge.

---

5. WE HAVE DONE: Our text has the evils, *cf.* critical note.

6. AND GAVE HIM AUTHORITY: By giving Jonathan authority, Demetrius raised his position, but he did not make Judaea independent of Syria. THE HOSTAGES: See 9.53.

10. TOOK UP RESIDENCE IN JERUSALEM: After the friendly letter from Demetrius, Jonathan changed his headquarters from Michmash to Jerusalem.

15 [15]Καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς ἐπαγγελίας,
ὅσας ἀπέστειλεν Δημήτριος τῷ Ιωναθαν, καὶ διηγήσαντο
αὐτῷ τοὺς πολέμους καὶ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας, ἃς ἐποίησεν
αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς κόπους, οὓς ἔσχον,
[16]καὶ εἶπεν Μὴ εὑρήσομεν ἄνδρα τοιοῦτον ἕνα; καὶ νῦν ποιή-
σομεν αὐτὸν φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ἡμῶν. [17]καὶ ἔγραψεν
ἐπιστολὰς καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους
λέγων

[18]Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ιωναθαν χαίρειν.
[19]ἀκηκόαμεν περὶ σοῦ ὅτι ἀνὴρ δυνατὸς ἰσχύι καὶ ἐπιτήδειος
20 εἶ τοῦ εἶναι ἡμῶν φίλος. [20]καὶ νῦν καθεστάκαμέν σε σήμερον
ἀρχιερέα τοῦ ἔθνους σου καὶ φίλον βασιλέως καλεῖσθαί σε
(καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ πορφύραν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν)
καὶ φρονεῖν τὰ ἡμῶν καὶ συντηρεῖν φιλίας πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

[21]Καὶ ἐνεδύσατο Ιωναθαν τὴν ἁγίαν στολὴν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ
μηνὶ ἔτους ἑξηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ ἐν ἑορτῇ σκηνοπηγίας
καὶ συνήγαγεν δυνάμεις καὶ κατεσκεύασεν ὅπλα πολλά.

[22]Καὶ ἤκουσεν Δημήτριος τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ἐλυπήθη
καὶ εἶπεν [23]Τί τοῦτο ἐποιήσαμεν ὅτι προέφθακεν ἡμᾶς
Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ φιλίαν καταλαβέσθαι τοῖς Ιουδαίοις εἰς
στήριγμα; [24]γράψω αὐτοῖς κἀγὼ λόγους παρακλήσεως καὶ
25 ὕψους καὶ δομάτων, ὅπως ὦσιν σὺν ἐμοὶ εἰς βοήθειαν. [25]καὶ
ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους

Βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ιουδαίων χαίρειν. [26]ἐπεὶ
συνετηρήσατε τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς συνθήκας καὶ ἐνεμείνατε τῇ

---

15 *και τους — εσχον*>107
16 *ενα και νυν*>71
19 *δυνατος*] *αγαθος* A 62
21 *ετους εξηκοστου και εκατοστου*>71

15. ALEXANDER HEARD: Alexander became friendly toward Jonathan apparently only after he heard of the letter sent by Demetrius. In his war against Demetrius, Alexander now recognized Jonathan as a force to be reckoned with.

19. WE HAVE HEARD: "We" is the plural of majesty, common in royal documents. In Ezra the Persian kings use the singular.

20. WE HAVE APPOINTED YOU TODAY AS THE HIGH PRIEST: Since the Restoration the High Priest was the religious as well as the secular leader of the people. While the office was hereditary it always had to have the sanction of the rulers, first of the Persians and later of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, who never interfered with the high priesthood. The office

15 [15]King Alexander heard about the promises which Demetrius had sent to Jonathan. They told him about the battles and the brave exploits which he and his brothers had accomplished, and the sufferings which they had endured, [16]and he said, "Can we ever find another such man as this one? Now we will make him our Friend and ally."

[17]He wrote a letter and sent it to him, saying, [18]"King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, greetings! [19]We have heard about you, as a mighty man of valor worthy to be our
20 Friend. [20]We have appointed you today as High Priest of your nation, and to be called Friend of the King" (And he sent him a purple robe and a gold crown.) "You are to consider our interests and preserve friendship for us."

[21]Jonathan donned the holy robe in the seventh month at the Feast of Tabernacles. He gathered together troops, and provided an abundance of arms.

[22]When Demetrius heard about this he was distressed and said, [23]"What is this that we have done! Alexander has anticipated us in establishing friendship with the Jews to bolster his position. [24]I too will write them words of encouragement and flattery and offer gifts so that they may be my allies."
25 [25]With this in mind, he wrote to them, "King Demetrius to the nation of the Jews, greetings! [26]We were glad to hear

---

became dependent upon Syrian appointment only in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes when, with the assistance of the king, first Jason and then Menelaus usurped it. Alexander now appointed Jonathan to this high position; Jews were not yet ready to elect Jonathan as the High Priest. SENT HIM A PURPLE ROBE: A sign of royal favor.

21. HOLY ROBE: *Cf.* Ex. 28.4. AT THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES: Our text adds "in the one hundred and sixty-eighth year," but MS 71 omits it. The number is probably a later addition and is not mentioned in Josephus. *Cf. Ant.* 13.46.

25. KING DEMETRIUS TO THE NATION OF THE JEWS: Alexander addressed his letter to Jonathan, while Demetrius addressed his to the Jews and ignored Jonathan. Josephus has, "King Demetrius to his brother Jonathan and to the Jewish nation." There is no doubt of Demetrius' omission, for Jonathan is not named in that part of the letter where Demetrius grants various privileges to the High Priest. Demetrius purposely went over the head of Jonathan to curry favor with the people. He also reminded the Jews of their unswerving loyalty and friendship to the Syrian government.

φιλίᾳ ἡμῶν καὶ οὐ προσεχωρήσατε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡμῶν, ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐχάρημεν. [27]καὶ νῦν ἐμμείνατε ἔτι τοῦ συντηρῆσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς πίστιν, καὶ ἀνταποδώσομεν ὑμῖν ἀγαθὰ ἀνθ' ὧν ποιεῖτε μεθ' ἡμῶν. [28]καὶ ἀφήσομεν ὑμῖν ἀφέματα πολλὰ καὶ δώσομεν ὑμῖν δόματα. [29]καὶ νῦν ἀπολύω ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀφίημι πάντας τοὺς Ιουδαίους ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων καὶ τῆς
30 τιμῆς τοῦ ἁλὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεφάνων, [30]καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ τρίτου τῆς σπορᾶς καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡμίσους τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ξυλίνου τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντός μοι λαβεῖν ἀφίημι ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον καὶ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀπὸ γῆς Ιουδα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν νομῶν τῶν προστιθεμένων αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρίτιδος καὶ Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. [31]καὶ Ιερουσαλημ ἔστω ἁγία καὶ ἀφειμένη καὶ τὰ ὅρια αὐτῆς, αἱ δεκάται καὶ τὰ τέλη. [32]ἀφίημι καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἄκρας τῆς ἐν Ιερουσαλημ καὶ δίδωμι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ὅπως ἂν καταστήσῃ ἐν αὐτῇ ἄνδρας, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκλέξηται, τοῦ φυλάσσειν αὐτήν. [33]καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν Ιουδαίων τὴν αἰχμαλωτισθεῖσαν ἀπὸ γῆς Ιουδα εἰς πᾶσαν βασιλείαν μου ἀφίημι ἐλευθέραν δωρεάν· καὶ πάντες ἀφιέτωσαν τοὺς φόρους καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν αὐτῶν. [34]καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἑορταὶ καὶ τὰ σάββατα

---

30 προτεθειμενων 19 34 και τρεις ημεραι προ εορτης>19

29. I FREE YOU AND RELEASE ALL JEWS: *I. e.*, the Jews of Judaea and those in his empire. POLL TAXES: Taxes proportionate to individual wealth. THE CUSTOM ON SALT: A large quantity of salt was obtained from the marshes around the Dead Sea, and was taxed. FROM THE CROWN TAX: A fixed money tribute to the Syrian government, like the Roman *aurum coronarium*.

30. ONE-THIRD OF THE SEED: Seed is here used in the sense of crops. ONE HALF OF THE FRUIT OF THE TREES: Under the Seleucidean government these taxes were paid in money equivalents. On the taxation at the time of the Seleucids see Bickerman *Institutions des Seleucides*, Ch. 4. FROM THE THREE DISTRICTS: *I. e.*, Aphaerema, Lydda and Ramathaim. In 11.28 they are called Toparchies. These three districts were annexed to Judaea from Samaria by Alexander the Great (*cf.* Introd.), but during the persecutions, when the Samaritans were favored by Antiochus IV, they were returned to Samaria. Demetrius I, in his letter to the Jewish people, restores these districts to Judaea. FROM SAMARIA AND GALILEE: These districts were situated in Samaria, but as Galilee is remote from it, a scribal error here, which apparently crept in at a very early time, is assumed; *cf.* also Josephus 13.50.

that you have kept your agreements with us and have remained steadfast in friendship, and have not changed over to our enemies. [27]Continue to be faithful to us, and we will requite you well for what you are doing in our behalf. [28]We will grant you many exemptions, and give you gifts. [29]For the present, I free you and release all Jews from the poll taxes, from the custom on salt, and from the crown tax. [30]Instead of
30 one-third of the seed and of half of the fruit of the trees which I receive as my share, from this day on I release for all time the right to take from the land of Judah and from the three districts which are added to it from Samaria and Galilee. [31]Let Jerusalem and her borders, her tithes and taxes, be holy and exempt. [32]I give up, also, my authority over the citadel in Jerusalem. I give it to the High Priest, that he may place there men whom he himself shall choose to guard it. [33]Every Jewish person who has been carried into captivity from the land of Judah to any part of my kingdom, I release as a free gift. Let all officials remit the taxes upon their cattle also. [34]All the feasts, the Sabbaths, new moons, public festivals,

31. HER TITHES AND TAXES, BE HOLY AND FREE: Antiochus III, the Great, had declared that no foreigner must come within the limits of the Temple; Demetrius now reaffirms the decree of his predecessor. *Cf.* also note on 3.49.

32. I GIVE IT TO THE HIGH PRIEST: In transferring his authority over the citadel to the High Priest Demetrius did not mention Jonathan; as was pointed out previously, the letter was addressed to the Jewish people and the name of Jonathan was intentionally avoided. When Josephus (*ibid.* 51) says that Demetrius placed the citadel under the High Priest Jonathan, he is doubtless giving his own reconstruction.

33. TO ANY PART OF MY KINGDOM: Many Jews were captured and sold into slavery during the rebellion. Josephus' text of the letter says, "I also set free those Jews who have been taken captive and are in slavery in our realm" (*ibid.*).

34. THE FEASTS, THE SABBATHS, THE NEW MOONS, PUBLIC FESTIVALS: The "appointed days" of the text were generally interpreted to mean days such as Day of Atonement and fast-days. Demetrius's letter was translated from Greek into Hebrew and later re-translated into Greek along with the entire book. The original letter of Demetrius probably had *πανηγυρις* 'public festival'; 'solemn assembly'; *cf. e. g. Ant.* 2.43; Heb. 12.23; Herodotus 2.58; 6.111; this was rendered by מועד which also means "appointed time." Hence our text has "appointed days." In fact the king

καὶ νουμηνίαι καὶ ἡμέραι ἀποδεδειγμέναι καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραι
πρὸ ἑορτῆς καὶ τρεῖς μετὰ ἑορτὴν ἔστωσαν πᾶσαι ἡμέραι
ἀτελείας καὶ ἀφέσεως πᾶσιν τοῖς Ιουδαίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν
35 τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου, [35]καὶ οὐχ ἕξει ἐξουσίαν οὐδεὶς πράσσειν
καὶ παρενοχλεῖν τινα αὐτῶν περὶ παντὸς πράγματος. [36]καὶ
προγραφήτωσαν τῶν Ιουδαίων εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ βασιλέως
εἰς τριάκοντα χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, καὶ δοθήσεται αὐτοῖς ξένια,
ὡς καθήκει πάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεσιν τοῦ βασιλέως. [37]καὶ
κατασταθήσεται ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν τοῦ βασιλέως
τοῖς μεγάλοις, καὶ ἐκ τούτων κατασταθήσονται ἐπὶ χρειῶν
τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐσῶν εἰς πίστιν· καὶ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ
οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔστωσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ πορευέσθωσαν τοῖς νόμοις
αὐτῶν, καθὰ καὶ προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν γῇ Ιουδα. [38]καὶ
τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς τοὺς προστεθέντας τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς
χώρας Σαμαρείας προστεθήτω τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ πρὸς τὸ λογισθῆναι
τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑφ' ἕνα τοῦ μὴ ὑπακοῦσαι ἄλλης ἐξουσίας ἀλλ'
ἢ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. [39]Πτολεμαίδα καὶ τὴν προσκυροῦσαν αὐτῇ
δέδωκα δόμα τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς ἐν Ιερουσαλημ εἰς τὴν καθή-
40 κουσαν δαπάνην τοῖς ἁγίοις. [40]κἀγὼ δίδωμι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν
δέκα πέντε χιλιάδας σίκλων ἀργυρίου ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων τοῦ
βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων τῶν ἀνηκόντων. [41]καὶ πᾶν τὸ
πλεονάζον, ὃ οὐκ ἀπεδίδοσαν ἀπὸ τῶν χρειῶν ὡς ἐν τοῖς
πρώτοις ἔτεσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δώσουσιν εἰς τὰ ἔργα τοῦ

---

37 εκ τουτων κατασταθησεται] κριται καταστα θησονται S
38 προς το λογισθηναι > 19 επακουσαι αλλη εξουσια S
39 προσκαθηκουσαν A
41 εθνεσιν S

---

granted immunity to the Jews on holidays, Sabbaths, and the new moons, which are religious days, and also on the days of the public festivals. Josephus omits "appointed days" as he apparently did not understand the words.

36. THIRTY THOUSAND JEWS: So large a number seems an exaggeration. MAINTENANCE: *I. e.*, the clothing, food and pay of mercenaries.

37. IN CHARGE OF THE CONFIDENTIAL AFFAIRS OF THE KINGDOM: The reference is probably to the palace guards, to show his confidence in the Jewish mercenaries. Josephus writes, "Some of them I shall place in garrisons, and others in my bodyguard, and I shall make them officers at my court."

38. THE HIGH PRIEST: Demetrius assigned the three districts, which he

(three days before a festival and three days after a festival), let them all be days of exemption and release for all the Jews in
35 my kingdom. [35]No one shall have authority to exact payment or trouble any of them in any way. [36]Let about thirty thousand Jews be enrolled in the King's service. Maintenance and pay shall be given to them, as is proper for all the forces of the king. [37]Some of them shall be stationed in the great strongholds of the king, and some of them shall be put in charge of the confidential affairs of the kingdom. Let those in charge of them, as well as their leaders, be from among their own. Let them obey their own laws, just as the king has commanded in the land of Judah. [38]As for the three districts that were added to Judaea from the country of Samaria, let them be added to Judaea so that they may be considered under one man's authority, not obeying any other authority except that of the High Priest. [39]Ptolemais and the land contiguous with it I have given as a gift to the sanctuary in Jerusalem, for the ex-
40 penses necessary for the sanctuary. [40]As for me, I shall give yearly fifteen thousand shekels of silver, from the revenues of the king, from suitable places. [41]All the excess which the officials have not paid over from the revenues as in former years, from now on they shall contribute to the service of

---

annexed to Judaea from Samaria, to be under the authority of the High Priest. He again ignored Jonathan.

39. PTOLEMAIS . . . I HAVE GIVEN AS A GIFT: Ptolemais was the headquarters of Alexander Balas. Thus it was easy for Demetrius to present it as a gift to the sanctuary of Jerusalem, for it was in the hands of his rival over whom he had no power.

40. FIFTEEN THOUSAND SHEKELS OF SILVER: Josephus says 150,000 drachmas, a considerably larger sum as a silver shekel was worth approximately four drachmas. FROM THE REVENUES OF THE KING: λογων means "accounts;" hence V has *rationibus*. FROM SUITABLE PLACES: This may mean "from those places which could best afford to pay it." The clause is omitted in some MSS, is not found in Josephus, and seems a later addition. Perhaps the ambiguous and diplomatic terms were calculated to facilitate frequent retraction.

41. ALL THE EXCESS . . . AS IN FORMER YEARS: Probably refers to the annual state subsidy to the Temple, which was to be paid regularly, as was the case under the Persians, Ptolemies and Seleucids prior to Antiochus Epiphanes.

οἴκου. 42καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις πεντακισχιλίους σίκλους ἀργυρίου,
οὓς ἐλάμβανον ἀπὸ τῶν χρειῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου
κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀφίεται διὰ τὸ ἀνήκειν αὐτὰ τοῖς
ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς λειτουργοῦσιν. 43καὶ ὅσοι ἐὰν φύγωσιν εἰς τὸ
ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ιεροσολύμοις καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτοῦ
ὀφείλων βασιλικὰ καὶ πᾶν πρᾶγμα, ἀπολελύσθωσαν καὶ
πάντα, ὅσα ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου. 44καὶ τοῦ
οἰκοδομηθῆναι καὶ ἐπικαινισθῆναι τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ
45 ἡ δαπάνη δοθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ βασιλέως. 45καὶ τοῦ
οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὰ τείχη Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ὀχυρῶσαι κυκλόθεν,
καὶ ἡ δαπάνη δοθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῦ
οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὰ τείχη ἐν τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ.

46Ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν Ιωναθαν καὶ ὁ λαὸς τοὺς λόγους τούτους,
οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ἐπεδέξαντο, ὅτι ἐπεμνήσθησαν
τῆς κακίας τῆς μεγάλης, ἧς ἐποίησεν ἐν Ισραηλ καὶ ἔθλιψεν
αὐτοὺς σφόδρα. 47καὶ εὐδόκησαν ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὅτι αὐτὸς
ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἀρχηγὸς λόγων εἰρηνικῶν, καὶ συνεμάχουν
αὐτῷ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας.

48Καὶ συνήγαγεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς δυνάμεις μεγάλας
καὶ παρενέβαλεν ἐξ ἐναντίας Δημητρίου. 49καὶ συνῆψαν
πόλεμον οἱ δύο βασιλεῖς, καὶ ἔφυγεν ἡ παρεμβολὴ Δημη-
τρίου, καὶ ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἴσχυσεν ἐπ'

---

42 χρειων+ως εν τοις πρωτοις ετεσιν A
45 ωχυρωσεν S
46 τουτους>58+τους παρα του δημητριου
19 επεταξαντο S
49 δημητριου αλεξανδρου A αλεξανδρος] δημητριος A

42. FIVE THOUSAND SILVER SHEKELS . . . TO PERFORM THE RELIGIOUS SERVICE: This was a tax upon the Temple income from offerings; Demetrius now released this revenue. See critical note.

43. WHO EVER SHALL FLEE TO THE TEMPLE . . . WHETHER BECAUSE THEY OWE MONEY TO THE KING: In the Bible, the altar, as well as the cities of refuge, afforded asylum (Ex. 21.14; I Kings 1.50) but in both instances only for involuntary manslaughter. There is no mention of the altar as an asylum for insolvent debtors. Hence it is assumed that this clause is of Greek origin. According to the old law, which apparently goes back to the Bible, if a debtor did not pay his debt the creditor had the right to seize his person or sell him as a slave. This principle of *obligatio* of persons was valid among Greeks as well as among Jews. Hence Demetrius declared that anyone who fled to the altar could not be imprisoned or sold into

the Temple. [42]In addition to this, the five thousand silver shekels which they were accustomed to take out of the dues of the sanctuary from the yearly revenue are released also, because they properly belong to the priests who perform the religious service. [43]Whoever shall flee to the Temple in Jerusalem, or to any of its precincts, whether because they owe money to the king or for any other debt, shall be released, with all they possess in my kingdom. [44]The expense of building and restoring the works of the sanctuary shall
45 also be taken out of the king's revenue. [45]Moreover the expense of building the walls of Jerusalem, and fortifying it, and for building the walls in Judaea, shall be taken out of the revenue of the king."

[46]When Jonathan and the people heard these words, they did not believe nor accept them, because they were mindful of the great harm he had done to Israel, when he had greatly afflicted them. [47]For that reason they favored Alexander, because he had been the first to speak peaceful words to them, and they preserved their alliance with him always.

[48]Then King Alexander mustered a great army and encamped against Demetrius. [49]The two kings joined battle, and the army of Alexander fled. Demetrius pursued him,

---

slavery. On the principle of *obligatio* in person see S. Zeitlin *JQR* 1948, pp. 7–8. ALL THEY POSSESS IN MY KINGDOM: *I. e.*, not only cannot the debtor be arrested and sold into slavery, but his property cannot be confiscated. For Demetrius "my kingdom" surely included Judaea.

44. THE EXPENSE OF BUILDING: Here Demetrius followed the example of the Persian kings, who granted money from their own treasury for the building of the Temple (*cf.* Ezra 6.8; 7.20). REVENUE: See note on 40.

49. THE ARMY OF ALEXANDER FLED. DEMETRIUS PURSUED HIM: Our text has "Demetrius fled and Alexander pursued him" but some MSS read "Alexander fled and Demetrius pursued him." The latter seems correct and is supported by Josephus, who says that the left wing of Demetrius' forces put the army of Alexander to flight and pursued and killed many, but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was defeated. Early in the battle Demetrius was gaining the advantage but later the tide turned. This sequence of events is corroborated by Justin (35).

50 αὐτούς· [50]καὶ ἐστερέωσεν τὸν πόλεμον σφόδρα, ἕως ἔδυ ὁ
ἥλιος, καὶ ἔπεσεν ὁ Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ.
[51]Καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον βασιλέα
Αἰγύπτου πρέσβεις κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους λέγων
[52]Ἐπεὶ ἀνέστρεψα εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν μου καὶ ἐνεκάθισα
ἐπὶ θρόνου πατέρων μου καὶ ἐκράτησα τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ συν-
έτριψα τὸν Δημήτριον καὶ ἐπεκράτησα τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν
[53]καὶ συνῆψα πρὸς αὐτὸν μάχην, καὶ συνετρίβη αὐτὸς καὶ
ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐκαθίσαμεν ἐπὶ θρόνου
βασιλείας αὐτοῦ· [54]καὶ νῦν στήσωμεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν,
καὶ νῦν δός μοι τὴν θυγατέρα σου εἰς γυναῖκα, καὶ ἐπι-
γαμβρεύσω σοι καὶ δώσω σοι δόματα καὶ αὐτῇ ἄξιά σου.
55 [55]Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Πτολεμαῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγων
Ἀγαθὴ ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ἐπέστρεψας εἰς γῆν πατέρων σου καὶ
ἐκάθισας ἐπὶ θρόνου βασιλείας αὐτῶν. [56]καὶ νῦν ποιήσω σοι
ἃ ἔγραψας, ἀλλὰ ἀπάντησον εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα, ὅπως ἴδωμεν
ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπιγαμβρεύσω σοι, καθὼς εἴρηκας.
[57]Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Πτολεμαῖος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὐτὸς καὶ
Κλεοπάτρα ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα
ἔτους δευτέρου καὶ ἑξηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ. [58]καὶ ἀπήντησεν
αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ ἐξέδετο αὐτῷ Κλεοπάτραν
τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸν γάμον αὐτῆς ἐν Πτολε-
μαΐδι καθὼς οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν δόξῃ μεγάλῃ. — [59]καὶ ἔγραψεν
Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ιωναθη ἐλθεῖν εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῷ.
60 [60]καὶ ἐπορεύθη μετὰ δόξης εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα καὶ ἀπήντησεν
τοῖς δυσὶν βασιλεῦσι· καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἀργύριον καὶ
χρυσίον καὶ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτῶν καὶ δόματα πολλὰ καὶ εὗρεν
χάριν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν. [61]καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν

52 εκαθισα A
53 εκαθισα S 19
54 συνστησωμεν A
55 ανεστρεψας A
56 απαντησον+μοι S επιγαμβρευσεις μοι 311
60 δοματα] δυνατα A ενωπιον] εναντιον 58 cf. 8.21

50. DEMETRIUS FELL ON THAT DAY: Josephus provides details. Demetrius' horse fell into a swamp where it was held fast; and there Demetrius was attacked and killed.

51. PTOLEMY, KING OF EGYPT: Ptolemy VI Philometor (reigned 181–146 BCE). He turned against Demetrius because of his designs upon Cyprus.

50 prevailed over them, [50]and spurred on the fighting vigorously
until the sun went down. Demetrius fell on that day.

[51]Thereupon Alexander sent envoys to Ptolemy, king of
Egypt, with the following message, [52]"Since I have returned
to my kingdom, and sat on the throne of my fathers, and
become master of the government, crushed Demetrius and
taken possession of our country, [53]since I have joined in
battle against him, defeated him and his army and have sat
on the throne of his kingdom, [54]let us establish an alliance
with one another. Give me your daughter for a wife, that I
may be your son-in-law and I shall give you and her gifts
worthy of you."

55 [55]King Ptolemy replied, "Fortunate was the day when you
returned to the land of your fathers, and sat upon the throne
of their kingdom. [56]I shall do for you as you have written;
but meet me at Ptolemais, so that we may see each other,
then I shall become your father-in-law as you have re-
quested."

[57]Ptolemy, with his daughter Cleopatra, came up from
Egypt, and arrived at Ptolemais, in the one hundred and
sixty-second year. [58]King Alexander met him, and bestowed
upon him Cleopatra his daughter, and celebrated her wed-
ding in Ptolemais as kings do, with great pomp.

[59]King Alexander then wrote to Jonathan to come to meet
60 him. [60]He went in state to Ptolemais and met the two
kings, and gave them as well as their Friends silver and gold
and many gifts, and found favor in their sight. [61]Some pesti-

---

54. YOUR DAUGHTER FOR A WIFE: Cleopatra (v. 57). GIFTS WORTHY OF YOU: It was customary for the groom to present gifts to his bride as well as to her father—a relic of the old usage of bride-purchase; the Hebrew term for this was *mohar*.

55. THE LAND OF YOUR FATHERS: Ptolemy indubitably knew that Alexander was not the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, but because of his hatred of Demetrius and to please Alexander he officially declares that Alexander is the legal heir of the Seleucids.

57. PTOLEMAIS: The city of Akko. ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SECOND YEAR: *I. e.* 152–151 BCE.

61. PESTILENT FELLOWS: See Introd., also below, 15.3.

ἄνδρες λοιμοὶ ἐξ Ισραηλ, ἄνδρες παράνομοι, ἐντυχεῖν κατ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ προσέσχεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεύς. [62]καὶ προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐξέδυσαν Ιωναθαν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέδυσαν αὐτὸν πορφύραν, καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως. [63]καὶ ἐκάθισεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτοῦ Ἐξέλθατε μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς μέσον τῆς πόλεως καὶ κηρύξατε τοῦ μηδένα ἐντυγχάνειν κατ' αὐτοῦ περὶ μηδενὸς πράγματος, καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῷ παρενοχλείτω περὶ παντὸς λόγου. [64]καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς εἶδον οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ἐκήρυξεν, καὶ περιβεβλημένον αὐτὸν πορφύραν, καὶ ἔφυγον
65 πάντες. [65]καὶ ἐδόξασεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔγραψεν αὐτὸν τῶν πρώτων φίλων καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ μεριδάρχην. [66]καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν Ιωναθαν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ μετ' εἰρήνης καὶ εὐφροσύνης.

[67]Καὶ ἐν ἔτει πέμπτῳ καὶ ἑξηκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἦλθεν Δημήτριος υἱὸς Δημητρίου ἐκ Κρήτης εἰς τὴν γῆν τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ. [68]καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐλυπήθη σφόδρα καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. [69]καὶ κατέστησεν Δημήτριος Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν ὄντα ἐπὶ Κοίλης Συρίας, καὶ συνήγαγεν δύναμιν μεγάλην καὶ παρενέβαλεν ἐπὶ Ιάμνειαν· καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς Ιωναθαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα λέγων
70 [70]Σὺ μονώτατος ἐπαίρῃ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐγενήθην εἰς καταγέλωτα καὶ εἰς ὀνειδισμὸν διὰ σέ· καὶ διὰ τί σὺ ἐξουσιάζῃ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι; [71]νῦν οὖν εἰ πέποιθας ἐπὶ ταῖς δυνά-

64 πορφυραν] σινδονα A 69 τον οντα+ηγεμονα 55 της κοιλης συριας 64

62. CLOTHE HIM WITH PURPLE: See above. 20; see Esther 6.11.

65. BEST FRIENDS: There were several degrees of "Friends." Jonathan was already named "Friend" by Alexander (5.20). Josephus says that Alexander named Jonathan his "chief Friend" and appointed him civil and military head of Judaea, although the garrison still remained in the citadel of Jerusalem as a symbol of dependence.

67. ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIFTH YEAR: 149–148 BCE. DEMETRIUS: Eldest son of Demetrius I.

68. RETURNED TO ANTIOCH: From Ptolemais, where he celebrated his marriage to Cleopatra.

69. APOLLONIUS: According to Polybius, 31.13, he was a trusted friend of

lent fellows from Israel, transgressors against the Law, gathered there to appeal against him, but the king paid no attention to them. [62]On the contrary, the king gave orders that they divest Jonathan of his garments and clothe him with purple; and this they did. [63]The king made him sit beside him, and said to his officers, "Go forth with him into the middle of the city. Proclaim that no one is to appeal against him for any reason. Let no one trouble him for any cause."

[64]When those who were appealing against him saw the honor conferred on him as the herald proclaimed, and saw
65 him clothed in purple, they all fled. [65]Thus the king showed him honor, inscribed him among his best Friends, and made him general and civil governor of a province. [66]Jonathan returned to Jerusalem in peace and good cheer.

[67]In the one hundred and sixty-fifth year, Demetrius, son of Demetrius, came from Crete to the land of his fathers. [68]When King Alexander heard the news, he was greatly distressed, and returned to Antioch. [69]Demetrius appointed Apollonius, who was then in charge of Coele Syria, and he mustered a great army. He pitched his camp near Jamnia,
70 and sent word to Jonathan the High Priest, saying, [70]"You are quite alone in rising against us, but I have become a laughing-stock and a reproach because of you. Why do you set up your authority against us in the mountains? [71]If you set

---

Demetrius. Josephus (13.88) calls him Apollonius Daos (Taos), the designation of a Scythian people east of the Caspian Sea. This country is still called Daghestan. WHO WAS THEN IN CHARGE: This implies that Apollonius was governor of the country under Alexander Balas. As a devoted friend of his father, Demetrius I, Demetrius II reappointed him to the governship. COELE SYRIA: Applied to the country between the two Lebanons; *cf.* Josh. 11.17. In the Hellenistic period the name Coele Syria was applied to the whole of Eastern Palestine. *Cf.* also Josephus, *Ant.* 14.78–79; Polybius 5.80; Diodorus 19.59, includes the Philistine coast in Coele Syria. Here Coele Syria is to be understood as Southern Syria.

71. LET US CONTEND WITH EACH OTHER: The Greek has "let us explain to each other." Josephus writes "you shall have a contest with us."

μεσίν σου, κατάβηθι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ συγκριθῶμεν ἑαυτοῖς ἐκεῖ, ὅτι μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐστιν δύναμις τῶν πόλεων. 72ἐρώτησον καὶ μάθε τίς εἰμι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ βοηθοῦντες ἡμῖν, καὶ λέγουσιν Οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν στάσις ποδὸς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν, ὅτι δὶς ἐτροπώθησαν οἱ πατέρες σου ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτῶν. 73καὶ νῦν οὐ δυνήσῃ ὑποστῆναι τὴν ἵππον καὶ δύναμιν τοιαύτην ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ὅπου οὐκ ἔστιν λίθος οὐδὲ κόχλαξ οὐδὲ τόπος τοῦ φυγεῖν.

74Ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν Ιωναθαν τῶν λόγων Ἀπολλωνίου, ἐκινήθη τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἐπέλεξεν δέκα χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ Ιερουσαλημ, καὶ συνήντησεν αὐτῷ Σιμων ὁ ἀδελφὸς
75 αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ βοήθειαν αὐτῷ. 75καὶ παρενέβαλεν ἐπὶ Ιοππην, καὶ ἀπέκλεισαν αὐτὴν οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι φρουρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐν Ιοππη· καὶ ἐπολέμησαν αὐτήν, 76καὶ φοβηθέντες ἤνοιξαν οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐκυρίευσεν Ιωναθαν Ιοππης. 77καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ παρενέβαλεν τρισχιλίαν ἵππον καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς Ἄζωτον ὡς διοδεύων καὶ ἅμα προῆγεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον διὰ τὸ ἔχειν αὐτὸν πλῆθος ἵππου καὶ πεποιθέναι ἐπ' αὐτῇ. 78 καὶ κατεδίωξεν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἄζωτον, καὶ συνῆψαν αἱ παρεμβολαὶ εἰς πόλεμον. 79καὶ ἀπέλιπεν Απολλώνιος χιλίαν ἵππον κρυπτῶς
80 κατόπισθεν αὐτῶν. 80καὶ ἔγνω Ιωναθαν ὅτι ἔστιν ἔνεδρον κατόπισθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκύκλωσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ ἐξετίναξαν τὰς σχίζας εἰς τὸν λαὸν ἐκ πρωίθεν ἕως δείλης· 81ὁ δὲ λαὸς εἱστήκει, καθὼς ἐπέταξεν Ιωναθαν, καὶ

72 δις ετροπωθησαν] διετροπωθησαν S 80 λαον] ναον S
78 εις πολεμον+οπισω αυτου 23

72. TWICE YOUR FATHERS HAVE BEEN PUT TO FLIGHT: Probably the original reading was צבאותיך 'your armies' instead of אבותיך 'your fathers.' This would mean that Apollonius told Jonathan that the Jewish armies had been defeated several times. See Introd. p. 34.

73. BE ABLE TO WITHSTAND SUCH CAVALRY: The Syrian cavalry was at a great disadvantage in a hilly country like Judaea, and therefore Apollonius challenged Jonathan to combat on the plain.

75. HE ENCAMPED AGAINST JOPPA: Modern Jaffa, situated about three and a half miles from Jamnia and about forty miles from Jerusalem. Apollonius was encamped in Jaffa. Jonathan wished to capture the city in order to

such reliance on your soldiers, come down against us in the plain. Let us contend with each other there, because mine is an army of the cities. [72]Ask and learn who I am, and who are the others who help us, and they (will) tell you, 'There is no chance of your making a successful stand against us, because twice your fathers have been put to flight in their own land.' [73]You will not be able to withstand such cavalry and army in the plain, where there is no stone nor pebble nor place to flee."

[74]When Jonathan heard these words of Apollonius, his anger was aroused. He selected ten thousand men, set out from Jerusalem, and his brother Simon joined him to help
75 him. [75]He encamped against Joppa, and the inhabitants of the city shut him out, because Apollonius had a garrison in Joppa; and they fought against it. [76]The inhabitants of the city were frightened and opened the gates, and Jonathan took possession of Joppa. [77]When Apollonius heard this he gathered three thousand horsemen and a strong army, and marched to Ashdod pretending to travel through, but actually marching into the plain, because he relied on his large force of cavalry. [78]He pursued him to Ashdod, and the armies joined in battle. [79]Apollonius had left a thousand horsemen
80 secretly in their rear, [80]but Jonathan had found out that there was an ambuscade behind him. They surrounded his army, and showered their arrows on the people from morning until evening; [81]yet the people stood their ground, just as Jonathan had ordered, while their horses grew weary.

---

protect his rear and also to keep the Syrians from making use of its good harbor.

77. THREE THOUSAND HORSEMEN: Josephus (92) has "eight thousand." TO ASHDOD: See above 4.15. MARCHING INTO THE PLAIN: Apollonius's tactics were to lure Jonathan's army to the plain, for he relied mainly on cavalry, which was lacking in the Jewish army.

79. IN THE REAR: According to Josephus (13.94) they were concealed in a valley.

81. WHILE THEIR: the enemies'.

ἐκοπίασαν οἱ ἵπποι αὐτῶν. [82]καὶ εἵλκυσεν Σιμων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ συνῆψεν πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, ἡ γὰρ ἵππος ἐξελύθη, καὶ συνετρίβησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔφυγον, [83]καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἐσκορπίσθη ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς Ἄζωτον καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς Βηθδαγων τὸ εἰδώλιον αὐτῶν τοῦ σωθῆναι. [84]καὶ ἐνεπύρισεν Ιωναθαν τὴν Ἄζωτον καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς κύκλῳ αὐτῆς καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰ σκῦλα αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Δαγων
85 καὶ τοὺς συμφυγόντας εἰς αὐτὸ ἐνεπύρισεν πυρί. [85]καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ πεπτωκότες μαχαίρᾳ σὺν τοῖς ἐμπυρισθεῖσιν εἰς ἄνδρας ὀκτακισχιλίους. [86]καὶ ἀπῆρεν ἐκεῖθεν Ιωναθαν καὶ παρενέβαλεν ἐπὶ Ἀσκαλῶνα, καὶ ἐξῆλθον οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῷ ἐν δόξῃ μεγάλῃ. [87]καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν Ιωναθαν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ σὺν τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες σκῦλα πολλά. [88]καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς λόγους τούτους, καὶ προσέθετο ἔτι δοξάσαι τὸν Ιωναθαν· [89]καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ πόρπην χρυσῆν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶν δίδοσθαι τοῖς συγγενέσιν τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν Ακκαρων καὶ πάντα τὰ ὅρια αὐτῆς εἰς κληροδοσίαν.

11 [1]Καὶ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου ἤθροισεν δυνάμεις πολλὰς ὡς ἡ ἄμμος ἡ παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ καὶ ἐζήτησε κατακρατῆσαι τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξάνδρου δόλῳ καὶ προσθεῖναι αὐτὴν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ. [2]καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Συρίαν

84 συνφευγοντας S
86 εκειθεν>V ενθεν S
88 εγενετο>71

XI

1 και κατεκρατησε S

82. SIMON . . . THREW IN HIS ARMY: This had apparently been held in reserve, and was intact and fresh. The Syrian cavalry had suffered from battle with the army of Jonathan. Simon's army concentrated against the infantry and defeated it.

83. BETH DAGON: "The house of Dagon," one of the principal deities of the Philistines.

84. ITS VILLAGES: The Greek has "cities." "Villages" is more accurate as the reference is to the suburban settlements around Ashdod. Josephus properly writes "the villages about it."

85. EIGHT THOUSAND MEN: In Josephus the entire army consists of three thousand men.

86. ASKALON: Modern Askalun, one of the five Philistine cities. It is situated on the Philistine coast about twelve miles north of Gaza. Some

[82]Simon finally threw in his army, and joined battle against the phalanx, for the cavalry was spent, and he completely defeated them and they fled, [83]and the cavalry was scattered over the plain. They fled to Ashdod, and went into Beth Dagon, the dwelling place of their idol, to be saved. [84]Jonathan, however, set fire to Ashdod and its surrounding villages, and plundered them, and he burned down the temple of Dagon
85 and all who took refuge there. [85]Those who had fallen by the sword, with those who had been burned were about eight thousand men. [86]Jonathan set out from there, and encamped against Askalon. The inhabitants of the city came forth to meet him with great acclaim. [87]After that, Jonathan returned with his men to Jerusalem, with much plunder. [88]When King Alexander heard the news, he honored Jonathan still more, [89]and sent him a clasp of gold, such as is customarily given to Kinsmen of kings. He also gave him Ekron and all its borders as an allotment.

11 The king of Egypt mustered a great army like the sand on the shore of the sea, as well as many ships, and sought to prevail over the kingdom of Alexander by deceit, in order to add it to his own kingdom. [2]He set out for Syria with words

---

writers call Askalon the "bride of Syria."

89. CLASP OF GOLD: Used to fasten the upper garments. The right to wear gold clasps was restricted to very distinguished persons. EKRON: Modern *Akir*. It is farthest north of the five cities of the Philistines and is situated twelve miles NE of Ashdod, about nine miles from the Mediterranean coast. FOR A POSSESSION: Alexander gave Ekron and its environs to Jonathan as an absolute possession; even the taxes were apparently assigned to Jonathan.

1. KING OF EGYPT: Ptolemy VI, Philometor. LIKE THE SAND: A simile signifying great strength (*cf.* Josh. 11.4; Judges 18.12.). BY DECEIT: Josephus's account (106) differs: Ptolemy discovered that his son-in-law, Alexander Balas, plotted to kill him through Ammonius, a friend of Ptolemy. When Ptolemy asked Alexander to hand Ammonius over for punishment Alexander declined. TO ADD IT TO HIS OWN KINGDOM: Again Josephus differs: When the Antiochenes proclaimed Ptolemy king of Syria he declined, explaining that he had no desire to assume an office belonging to some one else, and persuaded them to accept Demetrius II as their king. See further Introd. pp. 56–7.

λόγοις εἰρηνικοῖς, καὶ ἤνοιγον αὐτῷ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων καὶ συνήντων αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἐντολὴ ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως συναντᾶν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ εἶναι· [3]ὡς δὲ εἰσεπορεύετο εἰς τὰς πόλεις Πτολεμαῖος, ἀπέτασσε τὰς δυνάμεις φρουρὰν ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει. [4]ὡς δὲ ἤγγισαν Αζώτου, ἔδειξαν αὐτῷ τὸ ἱερὸν Δαγων ἐμπεπυρισμένον καὶ Ἄζωτον καὶ τὰ περιπόλια αὐτῆς καθῃρημένα καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐρριμμένα καὶ τοὺς ἐμπεπυρισμένους, οὓς ἐνεπύρισεν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ· ἐποίησαν γὰρ
5 θιμωνιὰς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ. [5]καὶ διηγήσαντο τῷ βασιλεῖ ἃ ἐποίησεν Ιωναθαν εἰς τὸ ψογίσαι αὐτόν· καὶ ἐσίγησεν ὁ βασιλεύς. [6]καὶ συνήντησεν Ιωναθαν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς Ιοππην μετὰ δόξης, καὶ ἠσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐκεῖ. [7]καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ιωναθαν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ καλουμένου Ἐλευθέρου καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ. [8]ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἐκυρίευσεν τῶν πόλεων τῆς παραλίας ἕως Σελευκείας τῆς παραθαλασσίας καὶ διελογίζετο περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου λογισμοὺς πονηρούς. [9]καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρέσβεις πρὸς Δημήτριον τὸν βασιλέα λέγων Δεῦρο συνθώμεθα πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διαθήκην, καὶ δώσω σοι τὴν θυγατέρα μου, ἣν εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ βασιλεύσεις τῆς βασιλείας
10 τοῦ πατρός σου· [10]μεταμέλημαι γὰρ δοὺς αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα μου, ἐζήτησεν γὰρ ἀποκτεῖναί με. [11]καὶ ἐψόγισεν αὐτὸν χάριν τοῦ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτὸν τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ· [12]καὶ ἀφελόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν τῷ Δημητρίῳ καὶ ἠλλοιώθη τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ ἐφάνη ἡ ἔχθρα αὐτῶν. [13]καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Πτολεμαῖος εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ περιέθετο τὸ διάδημα τῆς Ἀσίας· καὶ περιέθετο δύο διαδήματα περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, τὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀσίας.

---

4 και τα σωματα εμπεπυρισμενα και εποιησαν θημωνιας 44 *et corpora trucidatorum proiecta et combustos quos cremaverunt in bello.* B
5 ψογισαι] ψεξαι S
8 της παραθαλασσιας>107
11 εψογισεν] εφεξεν S
12 ηλλοιωθη] εδηλωθη S το προσωπον αλεξανδρου A
13 εξηλθεν S

5. REMAINED SILENT: Did not commit himself. Ptolemy had not yet openly severed relations with his son-in-law Alexander. Jonathan was fighting against the army of Demetrius, and thus Ptolemy could not condemn his acts. On the other hand, he could not approve them, as he

of peace. The inhabitants of the cities opened their gates to him, and met him, because it was the command of King Alexander that they meet him, for he was his father-in-law. [3]When Ptolemy entered the cities, he assigned his forces as a garrison in each city. [4]When they reached Ashdod, they showed him the temple of Dagon burned down, Ashdod and its suburbs razed, and corpses scattered about, also those who had been burned, whom he had burned in the war; for they had piled them in heaps in his way. [5]They told the king what Jonathan had done, in order to cast blame on him; but the king remained silent. [6]Jonathan met the king at Joppa in state. They greeted each other, and slept there. [7]Jonathan accompanied the king as far as the river called Eleutherus, then returned to Jerusalem. [8]King Ptolemy in the meanwhile had made himself master of the cities of the sea coast as far as Seleucia by the sea, and kept plotting against Alexander. [9]He sent envoys to King Demetrius, saying, "Come, let us make a compact with each other. I will give you my daughter, whom Alexander had, and you shall reign over your father's kingdom. [10]For I regret having given my daughter to him, because he sought to kill me."

[11]He censured him for coveting his kingdom. [12]Taking back his daughter, he gave her to Demetrius, and became estranged from Alexander. Their enmity became manifest. [13]Ptolemy entered Antioch, and donned the crown of Asia, thus setting two crowns upon his head, that of Egypt and of Asia.

---

already intended to break with his son-in-law and ultimately annex Syria.

7. ELEUTHERUS: Rises at the base of the Lebanon and empties into the Mediterranean. Strabo (16.2.12) makes it the boundary between Seleucia and Phoenicia.

8. SELEUCIA BY THE SEA: So called to distingush it from other foundations of Seleucus I. It was situated a few miles north of the mouth of the Orontes, about fifty miles from Antioch, the main port of Syria.

9. I WILL GIVE YOU MY DAUGHTER: Marriages and divorces for political reasons were common then as always.

13. OF EGYPT AND OF ASIA: See 5.1 above. Polybius (39.7) calls Ptolemy Philometor King of Syria; *cf.* Introd.

14 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς
15 ἐκείνους, ὅτι ἀπεστάτουν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων. 15 καὶ
ἤκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν πολέμῳ. καὶ
ἐξήγαγεν Πτολεμαῖος καὶ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἐν χειρὶ ἰσχυρᾷ
καὶ ἐτροπώσατο αὐτόν· 16 καὶ ἔφυγεν Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὴν
Ἀραβίαν τοῦ σκεπασθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Πτολε-
μαῖος ὑψώθη. 17 καὶ ἀφεῖλεν Ζαβδιηλ ὁ Ἄραψ τὴν κεφαλὴν
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ. 18 καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς
Πτολεμαῖος ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ, καὶ οἱ ὄντες
ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώ-
μασιν. 19 καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Δημήτριος ἔτους ἑβδόμου καὶ
ἑξηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ.
20 20 Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις συνήγαγεν Ἰωναθαν τοὺς ἐκ
τῆς Ἰουδαίας τοῦ ἐκπολεμῆσαι τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ
καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν μηχανὰς πολλάς. 21 καὶ ἐπορεύθησάν

21 επορευθημεν S εθνος+ημων S

15. PTOLEMY LED OUT HIS ARMY: The battle between Alexander and Ptolemy took place on the banks of the Oenoparas River in the plain before the city of Antioch: Strabo 16.2.8.

16. ALEXANDER FLED TO ARABIA: According to Diodorus 26.43 Alexander left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who induced the people of the city to ask Ptolemy to become the king of Syria. When Alexander saw the turn of events he fled.

17. ZABDIEL THE ARAB CUT OFF ALEXANDER'S HEAD: According to Josephus, an Arab prince, named Zabelius, cut off the head of Alexander and sent it to Ptolemy. Diodorus (32) relates that Alexander was murdered by his officers Heliades and Cassius. Livy (Ep. 52) and Justin (35) state that Alexander was killed in battle with Demetrius.

18. KING PTOLEMY . . . DIED: Livy states that Ptolemy was seriously wounded in the head and died after an operation. Josephus's version is that Ptolemy fell from his horse and while lying helpless received many head wounds; he was saved by his bodyguards. ON THE THIRD DAY: Josephus says that Ptolemy recovered from his wounds on the fifth day; when the head of Alexander, his former son-in-law, was brought to him, he died of joy. THE GARRISONS IN THE STRONGHOLD WERE PUT TO DEATH BY THE INHABITANTS: The inhabitants of Syria saw Ptolemy as an invader who designed to annex Syria to Egypt. His alliances, first with Alexander and then with Demetrius, covered his real purpose. Now when his death left the Egyptian army without a strong leader, the inhabitants slaughtered the Egyptian army in revenge.

14 King Alexander was in Cilicia during these events, be-
15 cause the inhabitants of those places were in revolt. 15 When
Alexander heard about it, he marched against him to give
battle. Ptolemy led out his army, met him with a strong
force and put him to flight. 16 Alexander fled to Arabia for
shelter, but King Ptolemy was triumphant.

17 Zabdiel the Arab cut off Alexander's head, and sent it to
Ptolemy. 18 King Ptolemy however died on the third day
thereafter, and the garrisons in his strongholds were put to
death by the inhabitants of the strongholds. 19 And Demetrius
became king in the one hundred and sixty-seventh year.
20 20 At that time, Jonathan mustered the men of Judaea, to
attack the citadel in Jerusalem, and constructed many siege
engines against it. 21 Some men who hated their own nation,

---

19. ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVENTH YEAR: 147–146 BCE; *cf.* App. C.

20. TO ATTACK THE CITADEL IN JERUSALEM: In his letter to the Jews, Demetrius promised to evacuate the citadel in Jerusalem and give it to the High Priest. He released the hostages, as he promised, but did not turn the citadel over to the Hasmonaeans because Jonathan had joined his enemy Alexander. Furthermore, Demetrius never recognized Jonathan as High Priest. Although Demetrius was victorious the citadel was not returned to Jonathan, probably because the garrison which remained in the citadel was not loyal to Demetrius. After the death of Ptolemy and the collapse of his army, and with Demetrius still a novice fighting for his existence, Jonathan decided to conquer the citadel. His purpose was to make Judaea an independent state. The presence of the Syrian army as well as the Hellenized Jews in the citadel was the symbol of Judaea's dependence on Syria.

21. SOME MEN WHO HATED THEIR OWN NATION: This is the first time the author calls the Hellenized Jews enemies of the people. Hitherto they were termed lawless men and sinners. Up to this period the Hasmoneans fought for religious freedom and therefore regarded their opponents as lawless or impious men. But now the philosophy of the Hasmonaaeans underwent a change. They were no longer satisfied with religious freedom, but endeavored to regain the independence of Judaea. Hence those who favored Demetrius and approved the Hellenized way of life are called "enemies of the people." Josephus relates that the men left the citadel and went over to Demetrius during the night. Many Jews preferred that Judaea should be part of the Syrian empire since Demetrius did not interfere with their religion. They were opposed to the establishment of an independent state under the leadership of the Hasmonaeans, who were not of the high priestly or Davidic family.

τινες μισοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἄνδρες παράνομοι πρὸς
τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ ὅτι Ιωναθαν περικάθηται
τὴν ἄκραν. [22]καὶ ἀκούσας ὠργίσθη· ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν, εὐθέως
ἀναζεύξας ἦλθεν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα καὶ ἔγραψεν Ιωναθαν τοῦ
μὴ περικαθῆσθαι καὶ τοῦ ἀπαντῆσαι αὐτὸν αὐτῷ συμμίσγειν
εἰς Πτολεμαίδα τὴν ταχίστην. [23]ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν Ιωναθαν,
ἐκέλευσεν περικαθῆσθαι καὶ ἐπέλεξεν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Ισραηλ
καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ κινδύνῳ· [24]καὶ λαβὼν
ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον καὶ ἱματισμὸν καὶ ἕτερα ξένια πλείονα
καὶ ἐπορεύθη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰς Πτολεμαίδα καὶ εὗρεν
25 χάριν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ. [25]καὶ ἐνετύγχανον κατ' αὐτοῦ τινες
ἄνομοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους. [26]καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς
καθὼς ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὕψωσεν αὐτὸν
ἐναντίον τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ πάντων. [27]καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτῷ τὴν
ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα εἶχεν τίμια τὸ πρότερον καὶ
ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν τῶν πρώτων φίλων ἡγεῖσθαι. [28]καὶ ἠξίωσεν
Ιωναθαν τὸν βασιλέα ποιῆσαι τὴν Ιουδαίαν ἀφορολόγητον
καὶ τὰς τρεῖς τοπαρχίας καὶ τὴν Σαμαρῖτιν καὶ ἐπηγγείλατο
αὐτῷ τάλαντα τριακόσια. [29]καὶ εὐδόκησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ
ἔγραψεν τῷ Ιωναθαν ἐπιστολὰς περὶ πάντων τούτων ἐχούσας
τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον

30 [30]Βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Ιωναθαν τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν καὶ
ἔθνει Ιουδαίων. [31]τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἣς ἐγράψαμεν
Λασθένει τῷ συγγενεῖ ἡμῶν περὶ ὑμῶν, γεγράφαμεν καὶ
πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅπως εἰδῆτε. [32]Βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Λασθένει τῷ
πατρὶ χαίρειν. [33]τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ιουδαίων φίλοις ἡμῶν καὶ
συντηροῦσιν τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς δίκαια ἐκρίναμεν ἀγαθὸν ποιῆσαι

---

22 περικαθησθαι+τη ακρα S
23 επελεξεν] εξελεξεν S
30 τω εθνει των ιουδαιων χαιρειν Jos. (13. 126)
33 ημων] ουσιν S

---

24. FOUND FAVOR IN HIS SIGHT: Heb.; *cf.* LXX Gen. 6.8.
27. THE HIGH PRIESTHOOD: Alexander had conferred the high priesthood upon Jonathan, and this act was confirmed by Demetrius II. MADE HIM PRE-EMINENT AMONG HIS CHIEF FRIENDS: When Demetrius heard that Jonathan had attacked the citadel he grew angry and asked him to lift the siege and come to Ptolemais for a conference. Jonathan did not lift the siege but, with a group of elders and priests, went to Ptolemais.

men who transgressed the Law, went to the king, and told
him that Jonathan was besieging the citadel. [22]Upon hearing
this, he became angry; but after he heard it, he immediately
shifted his quarters, came to Ptolemais, then wrote to Jona-
than to discontinue the siege and to meet him for a con-
ference at Ptolemais as quickly as possible. [23]When Jonathan
heard this, he gave orders to continue the siege, and chose
some of the elders of Israel and of the priests, and put him-
self in danger. [24]Taking silver and gold and clothing and
many other friendly gifts, he set out on his way to the king
25 at Ptolemais, where he found favor in his sight. [25]When certain
lawless men from among his nation preferred charges against
him, [26]the king dealt with him just as his predecessors had
done, and elevated him in the sight of all of his Friends. [27]He
confirmed him in the high priesthood, and in as many other
offices as he had had before, and made him pre-eminent
among his chief Friends. [28]Jonathan requested the king to
free Judaea and the three provinces from Samaria from
tribute, and promised him three hundred talents. [29]The
king consented, and wrote a letter to Jonathan about all
these matters as follows,

30 [30]"King Demetrius to his brother Jonathan and to the
Jewish nation, greeting! [31]The copy of the letter which we
wrote to Lasthenes our kinsman about you we have written
to you also, that you may be aware of its contents. [32]'King
Demetrius to Lasthenes, his father, greeting! [33]To the nation
of the Jews, who are our friends and who are favorably dis-

Instead of punishing Jonathan for his arrogance, Demetrius conferred upon him the title of "Friend of the king." This shows Jonathan's skillful diplomacy, and also reveals the weakness of the king, who apparently was not secure on his throne and sought allies.

28. THREE PROVINCES FROM SAMARIA: Our text has "and Samaria" which is doubtless a scribal error: see below v. 34; 10.30. Josephus adds "Joppa and Galilee."

31. WHICH WE WROTE TO LASTHENES: Probably the governor of Coele Syria. OUR KINSMAN: The terms 'kinsman,' 'brother' and 'father' are all honorary titles.

χάριν τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐνοίας πρὸς ἡμᾶς. 34ἐστάκαμεν αὐτοῖς
τά τε ὅρια τῆς Ιουδαίας καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Αφαιρεμα καὶ
Λυδδα καὶ Ραθαμιν· προσετέθησαν τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς
Σαμαρίτιδος καὶ πάντα τὰ συγκυροῦντα αὐτοῖς πᾶσιν τοῖς
θυσιάζουσιν εἰς Ιεροσόλυμα ἀντὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν, ὧν ἐλάμ-
βανεν ὁ βασιλεὺς παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ πρότερον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν
35 ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρύων. 35καὶ τὰ
ἄλλα τὰ ἀνήκοντα ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τῶν δεκατῶν καὶ τῶν
τελῶν τῶν ἀνηκόντων ἡμῖν καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἁλὸς λίμνας καὶ
τοὺς ἀνήκοντας ἡμῖν στεφάνους, πάντα ἐπαρκέσομεν αὐτοῖς.
36καὶ οὐκ ἀθετηθήσεται οὐδὲ ἓν τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν
ἅπαντα χρόνον. 37νῦν οὖν ἐπιμέλεσθε τοῦ ποιῆσαι τούτων
ἀντίγραφον, καὶ δοθήτω Ιωναθαν καὶ τεθήτω ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ
ἁγίῳ ἐν τόπῳ ἐπισήμῳ.

38Καὶ εἶδεν Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ἡσύχασεν ἡ γῆ
ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἀνθειστήκει, καὶ ἀπέλυσεν
πάσας τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ, ἕκαστον εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον,
πλὴν τῶν ξένων δυνάμεων, ὧν ἐξενολόγησεν ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων
τῶν ἐθνῶν· καὶ ἤχθραναν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἀπὸ
τῶν πατέρων. 39Τρύφων δὲ ἦν τῶν παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ
πρότερον καὶ εἶδεν ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις καταγογγύζουσιν
κατὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου, καὶ ἐπορεύθη πρὸς Ιμαλκουε τὸν Ἄραβα,
ὃς ἔτρεφεν Ἀντίοχον τὸ παιδάριον τὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου.
40 40καὶ προσήδρευεν αὐτῷ, ὅπως παραδοῖ αὐτὸν αὐτῷ, ὅπως

37 εν τοπω επισημω>71, cf. Jos. 13. 128

40 συνετελεσεν] συνετασσεν S

34. EPHRAIM: *Cf.* II Sam. 13.23; see also Talmud Men. 85; John 11.54. According to Josephus *Wars of the Jews* 4.551, it was situated not far from Bethel; *cf.* also Eus. *op. cit.* p. 90. Ephraim is the modern et-Taiyibet, about five miles NE of Bethel. LYDDA: Modern Ludd, where an important airfield is now located. It is called Lod in the Bible, and in the Hellenistic period was known as Diospolis. It lies between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. RAMATHAIM: *Cf.* I Sam. 1.1. Some scholars identify it with Beit Rima, NE of Lydda. ALL THOSE WHO OFFER SACRIFICES IN JERUSALEM: Demetrius exempted from dues all Jews who sent their sacrifices to Jerusalem. Perhaps this exemption was a privilege afforded to the Hasmoneans and their followers who brought sacrifices to the Temple in Jerusalem, but not to the Samaritans and the Hellenized Jews who, not recognizing the sanctuary, offered sacrifice outside of Jerusalem.

posed toward us, we have determined to do good, because of their good will toward us. [34]We have recognized as theirs the boundaries of Judaea and the three districts, Ephraim, Lydda, and Ramathaim, they were added to Judaea from Samaria, and all things to them appertaining, for the benefit of all those who offer sacrifice in Jerusalem, instead of the royal revenue which the king formerly received annually
35 from the produce of the land and the fruit trees. [35]With respect to other things which appertain to us, of the tithes and tolls that appertain to us, and the salt pits and the crown tax that appertain to us, all these things from now on we bestow upon them. [36]Nothing of these shall be annulled from this time forth and forever.' [37]Now, therefore, take care to make a copy of this, let it be given to Jonathan, and let it be placed on the holy mountain in a suitably conspicuous place."

[38]When King Demetrius saw that the land was quiet before him, and that there was no one to resist him, he released all his troops, each one to his own place, except the mercenary troops that he had hired from the isles of the heathen. For this reason, all the troops of his fathers were angry with him. [39]Tryphon was formerly on Alexander's side, but when he saw that all the troops were murmuring against Demetrius, he went to Imalkue the Arab, who was rearing Antiochus
40 the young son of Alexander [40]and kept demanding that he be

---

These were compelled to pay dues.

35. WE SHALL BESTOW UPON THEM: Reaffirming the privileges granted by his father, Demetrius I.

37. HOLY MOUNTAIN: Josephus (128) has "holy Temple."

38. ANGRY WITH HIM: Justin (36.1) says that the people had contempt for Demetrius because of his slothfulness; Livy (52) says that the people revolted from him because of his cruelty.

39. TRYPHON: His real name was Diodotus (Livy 52). Strabo (16.2.10) says that he was born in Casiana, a fortress of the Apameian country. He assumed the surname Tryphon. FORMERLY ON ALEXANDER'S SIDE: According to Josephus (131) he was one of Alexander's generals; *cf.* Josephus, 13.131. IMALKUE THE ARAB: Diodorus has 'Iamblichus,' Josephus 'Malchus,' V 'Emalchus.' ANTIOCHUS, THE YOUNG SON OF ALEXANDER: Josephus *ibid.* tells how Tryphon tried to persuade Malchus, who was suspicious of him, to entrust the boy Antiochus to him.

βασιλεύσῃ ἀντὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῷ ὅσα συνετέλεσεν ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ τὴν ἔχθραν, ἣν ἐχθραίνουσιν αὐτῷ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ ἡμέρας πολλάς. 41καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Ιωναθαν πρὸς Δημήτριον τὸν βασιλέα, ἵνα ἐκβάλῃ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἐξ Ιερουσαλημ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν· ἦσαν γὰρ πολεμοῦντες τὸν Ισραηλ. 42καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Δημήτριος πρὸς Ιωναθαν λέγων Οὐ ταῦτα μόνον ποιήσω σοι καὶ τῷ ἔθνει σου, ἀλλὰ δόξῃ δοξάσω σε καὶ τὸ ἔθνος σου, ἐὰν εὐκαιρίας τύχω· 43νῦν οὖν ὀρθῶς ποιήσεις ἀποστείλας μοι ἄνδρας, οἳ συμμαχήσουσίν μοι, ὅτι ἀπέστησαν πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις μου. 44καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Ιωναθαν ἄνδρας τρισχιλίους δυνατοὺς ἰσχύι αὐτῷ εἰς Αντιόχειαν, καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ηὐφράνθη ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐφόδῳ
45 αὐτῶν. 45καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς μέσον τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἀνδρῶν δώδεκα μυριάδας καὶ ἠβούλοντο ἀνελεῖν τὸν βασιλέα. 46 καὶ ἔφυγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, καὶ κατελάβοντο οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὰς διόδους τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἤρξαντο πολεμεῖν. 47καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ιουδαίους ἐπὶ βοήθειαν, καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες ἅμα καὶ διεσπάρησαν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ εἰς μυριάδας δέκα· 48καὶ ἐνεπύρισαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἔλαβον σκῦλα πολλὰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἔσωσαν τὸν βασιλέα. 49καὶ εἶδον οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὅτι κατεκράτησαν οἱ

46 πολεως] οικιας S 49 ως ηβουλοντο>S εκρατησαν S

41. THE GARRISON FROM THE CITADEL: Jonathan now saw his great opportunity to achieve the long cherished dream of Judaean independence. Demetrius was deserted by the army which detested him. A new pretender to the throne arose on the scene. Tryphon produced the boy Antiochus and declared him king in the place of Alexander, his father. Jonathan was aware of all this. He knew of the helpless situation of King Demetrius and asked him to remove the Syrian garrison from the citadel of Jerusalem, which was the symbol of Syrian dominion.

42. HONOR YOU: Lit. "with glory will I glorify thee." IF I FIND A PROPER OCCASION: Demetrius employed diplomacy in his letter, promising to glorify Jonathan and the Jews on the proper occasion, but avoided mentioning the removal of the garrison from the citadel. Josephus (134) elaborates on Demetrius' letter, and makes him promise to grant the request to remove the garrison from the citadel at the end of the war in which he was then engaged. Apparently Josephus understood that

turned over to him, that he might make him king in place of his father. He reported to him all that Demetrius had done, the hatred which his troops felt for him, and he remained there for a long while.

41Finally Jonathan sent a request to King Demetrius to cast out the garrison from the citadel of Jerusalem and the garrisons from the strongholds, for they were continually fighting against Israel. 42Demetrius then sent this reply to Jonathan, "Not only will I do these things for you and your nation but I will greatly honor you and your nation, if I find a proper occasion. 43Now then you will please send me men who will fight for me, because all my troops have revolted."

44Jonathan sent three thousand able-bodied men to him to Antioch. They came to the king, and the king was glad that
45 they had come. 45The inhabitants of the city gathered together in the midst of the city, about a hundred and twenty thousand men, and wanted to kill the king. 46The king fled to the palace, while the inhabitants of the city barricaded the streets and began to riot. 47The king summoned the Jews to his aid. They all rallied around him, spread throughout the city, and killed on that day about one hundred thousand. 48They set the city on fire, took great plunder on that day, and rescued the king. 49When the inhabitants saw

---

Demetrius' promise to glorify the nation and Jonathan on the proper occasion meant that he would evacuate the citadel. This, even according to Josephus, was a dramatic promise.

43. MY TROOPS HAVE REVOLTED: Josephus (135) relates that the Antiochians had revolted.

44. ABLE-BODIED MEN: Lit., "men mighty in strength." A biblical expression.

45. HUNDRED AND TWENTY THOUSAND MEN: This and the number of the slain (47) are undoubtedly exaggerated.

47. SUMMONED THE JEWS: The second occurrence of "Jews" in this book. Generally the term "Israel" is used. But since it was the king who summoned them, "Jews" is proper, because the Romans as well as the early Christians always used the word after the destruction of the Temple, though the Jews called themselves Israelites. *Cf.* S. Zeitlin *The Jews: Race, Nation or Religion*, 1936.

49. THEIR ARDOR WEAKENED: For this phrase *cf.* LXX Is. 7.4.

Ιουδαῖοι τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἠβούλοντο, καὶ ἠσθένησαν ταῖς διανοίαις αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκέκραξαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ
50 δεήσεως λέγοντες [50]Δὸς ἡμῖν δεξιὰς καὶ παυσάσθωσαν οἱ Ιουδαῖοι πολεμοῦντες ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν. [51]καὶ ἔρριψαν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐποίησαν εἰρήνην. καὶ ἐδοξάσθησαν οἱ Ιουδαῖοι ἐναντίον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ ἔχοντες σκῦλα πολλά. [52]καὶ ἐκάθισεν Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ θρόνου τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡσύχασεν ἡ γῆ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. [53]καὶ ἐψεύσατο πάντα, ὅσα εἶπεν, καὶ ἠλλοτριώθη τῷ Ιωναθαν καὶ οὐκ ἀνταπέδωκεν τὰς εὐνοίας, ἃς ἀνταπέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔθλιβεν αὐτὸν σφόδρα.

[54]Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀπέστρεψεν Τρύφων καὶ Ἀντίοχος μετ' αὐτοῦ παιδάριον νεώτερον· καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ ἐπέθετο
55 διάδημα. [55]καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις, ἃς ἀπεσκοράκισεν Δημήτριος, καὶ ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἔφυγεν καὶ ἐτροπώθη. [56]καὶ ἔλαβεν Τρύφων τὰ θηρία καὶ κατεκράτησεν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας. [57]καὶ ἔγραψεν Ἀντίοχος ὁ νεώτερος Ιωναθη λέγων Ἴστημί σοι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ καθίστημί σε ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων νομῶν καὶ εἶναί σε τῶν φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως. [58]καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ χρυσώματα καὶ διακονίαν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν πίνειν ἐν χρυσώμασιν καὶ εἶναι ἐν πορφύρᾳ καὶ ἔχειν πόρπην χρυσῆν· [59]καὶ Σιμωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ κατέστησεν στρατηγὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κλί-

51 και ωνομασθησαν εν τη βασιλεια αυτου+S
55 επεσκορπισε 55 αυτον] δημητριον 381
59 κλιματος Jos. (13. 146), *Terminis* L

50. GIVE US A SIGN OF PEACE: Lit. "Give us the right hand." *Cf.* 6.58.
52. THE LAND WAS QUIET BEFORE HIM: But tranquility lasted only a short time.
53. WHICH HE: Jonathan. TREATED HIM SHAMEFULLY: According to Josephus (143) Demetrius threatened war against Jonathan, and would have attacked had he not been compelled to confront Tryphon.
54. RETURNED: According to Josephus (144), he returned from Arabia.
55. AGAINST HIM: Demetrius. AND FLED: Josephus (145) says that he retired to Cilicia; Livy (52) says he fled to Seleucia.
57. FOUR PROVINCES: Three are given in v. 34. The fourth was either Ekron, which his father Alexander gave to Jonathan (10.39) or Ptolemais, which Demetrius I gave him. Some suggest that one of the provinces was

that the Jews controlled the city as they wished, their ardor weakened and they cried out to the king with supplication,
50 saying, [50]"Give us a sign of peace, and let the Jews stop fighting against us and the city."

[51]They threw down their arms and made peace. The Jews consequently were held in high esteem before the king and before all the people in his kingdom, and they returned to Jerusalem with great spoil. [52]When King Demetrius sat on the throne of his kingdom, and the land was quiet before him, [53]he proved false in all that he had promised. He became estranged from Jonathan and made no proper recompense for the favors which he had done for him, but treated him shamefully.

[54]After this Tryphon returned, accompanied by Antiochus
55 the young child. He became king, and put on a crown. [55]All the troops whom Demetrius had utterly cast off rallied around him. They made war against him, and he fled in defeat. [56]Tryphon took the beasts and gained possession of Antioch. [57]Young Antiochus wrote Jonathan saying, "I confirm you in the high priesthood, and appoint you over the four provinces, and you are to be one of the King's Friends."

[58]He sent him gold plate and service, and gave him permission to drink from gold goblets, to dress in purple and to wear a gold clasp. [59]He appointed his brother Simon governor

---

Judaea but this is very unlikely, for Josephus (145) speaks of the "four districts which had been added to the territory of the Jews." Judaea would not be classified merely as a province along with the other three.

58. TO WEAR A GOLD CLASP: The permission given to Jonathan to drink from gold goblets, to dress in purple and to wear a gold clasp was a sign of royal favor, designating him a friend of the king. *Cf.* Esth. 1.7; Homer *Od.* 1.137.

59. THE LADDER OF TYRE: According to the Talmud Shab. 26a it extended from Tyre to Haifa. Josephus in *Wars of the Jews* 2.188 describes it as a hill on the sea coast between Tyre and Ptolemais of about a hundred furlongs in length. It has been identified as the modern Ras-en Nåkurah. TO THE BORDERS OF EGYPT: Most likely to the river of Egypt. The modern Wady el-Arish.

60 μακος Τύρου ἕως τῶν ὁρίων Αἰγύπτου. [60]καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Ιωναθαν
καὶ διεπορεύετο πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, καὶ
ἠθροίσθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσα δύναμις Συρίας εἰς συμμαχίαν·
καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ἀσκαλῶνα, καὶ ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐκ τῆς
πόλεως ἐνδόξως. [61]καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Γάζαν, καὶ ἀπέκ-
λεισαν οἱ ἀπὸ Γάζης, καὶ περιεκάθισεν περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ
ἐνεπύρισεν τὰ περιπόλια αὐτῆς ἐν πυρὶ καὶ ἐσκύλευσεν αὐτά.
[62]καὶ ἠξίωσαν οἱ ἀπὸ Γάζης Ιωναθαν, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς
δεξιὰς καὶ ἔλαβεν τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν εἰς ὅμηρα
καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς Ιερουσαλημ· καὶ διῆλθεν τὴν
χώραν ἕως Δαμασκοῦ. [63]καὶ ἤκουσεν Ιωναθαν ὅτι παρῆσαν
οἱ ἄρχοντες Δημητρίου εἰς Κηδες τὴν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ μετὰ
δυνάμεως πολλῆς βουλόμενοι μεταστῆσαι αὐτὸν τῆς χρείας.
[64]καὶ συνήντησεν αὐτοῖς, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σιμωνα
65 κατέλιπεν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ. [65]καὶ παρενέβαλεν Σιμων ἐπὶ Βαιθ-
σουρα καὶ ἐπολέμει αὐτὴν ἡμέρας πολλὰς καὶ συνέκλεισεν
αὐτήν. [66]καὶ ἠξίωσαν αὐτὸν τοῦ δεξιὰς λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔδωκεν
αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἐξέβαλεν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖθεν καὶ κατελάβετο τὴν
πόλιν καὶ ἔθετο ἐπ' αὐτὴν φρουράν. [67]καὶ Ιωναθαν καὶ ἡ
παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ παρενέβαλον ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Γεννησαρ·
καὶ ὤρθρισαν τὸ πρωὶ εἰς τὸ πεδίον Ασωρ. [68]καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ
παρεμβολὴ ἀλλοφύλων ἀπήντα αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ

61 εκειθεν>93 64 και κατελιπεν τον αδελφον αυτου
63 χρειας] χωρας 93 311 σιμωνα S

60. ACROSS THE RIVER: The Jordan. Jonathan found allies across the Jordan.

61. ASKALON: *Cf.* above 10.6. GAZA: Heb. *Azzah.* It was a stronghold in the time of Samson: Jud. 16. Alexander the Great captured the city after a siege of two months: *Ant.* 11.325; Diodorus 17.4. This city is the most southerly of the five cities of the Philistines. It is situated about two and a half miles from the Mediterranean and is about fifty miles SW of Askalon. In 1948 the Egyptian forces established the provisional government of the Palestinian Arabs there. CLOSED THEIR GATES: The people of Gaza remained loyal to Demetrius.

62. HIS PLEDGE: Lit., "the right hand." HOSTAGES: Jonathan followed the practice of taking hostages in order to secure peace in the conquered countries, in vogue among the Romans and Greeks. See note on 9.53. TO JERUSALEM: Jonathan did not send the hostages from Gaza to Antiochus but to Jerusalem, thus asserting his authority. Sending the hostages to

60 from the Ladder of Tyre to the borders of Egypt. [60]Jonathan
then went forth, and made his way across the river and
through the cities. The entire army of Syria rallied around
him as allies. He went to Askalon where the inhabitants of
the city came forth to meet him with acclaim. [61]From there
he went to Gaza, but the inhabitants of Gaza closed their
gates. He besieged it, and burnt its suburbs, and plundered
them. [62]The inhabitants of Gaza then sued Jonathan for
peace, and he gave them his pledge. Taking the sons of their
leaders as hostages, he sent them off to Jerusalem, and passed
through the country as far as Damascus.

[63]Jonathan heard that the officers of Demetrius were
present in Kadesh in Galilee with a great army, wishing to
remove him from his post. [64]He went to meet them, leaving
65 his brother Simon in the country. [65]Simon encamped against
Beth Zur, fought against it for a long time, and blockaded
it. [66]They sued for peace, and he granted it to them, but
casting them out from there, he took over the city, and placed
a garrison in it.

[67]Jonathan and his army encamped by the water of Genne-
saret. They started out early in the morning for the plain of
Hazor. [68]There the army of the heathen met him in the plain.

Jerusalem was also sound policy. If any misunderstanding should arise between him and Antiochus he would have the loyalty of the people of Gaza. AS FAR AS DAMASCUS: A hundred and twenty miles NE of Jerusalem.

63. KADESH: *Cf.* Josh. 21.32; Judg. 4.6. Kadesh lies among the mountains on the northern frontier of Palestine about four miles NW of Lake Meron. It was called Kedesh-Naphtali: Josh. 20.7. Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews* 2.459, speaks of the city as belonging to the Tyrians. In *Ant.* 5.63 he describes the city as Galilean, and in 13.154 he says the city lies between the land of Tyre and Galilee. FROM HIS POST: In order that he should not help Antiochus.

65. BETH ZUR: A few miles NW of Hebron. *Cf.* above 4.29.

67. THE WATER OF GENNESARET: Known as Kinneret (*cf.* Num. 34.11) and so in the Talmud. It is sometimes called the Sea of Galilee. It is here for the first time called the Hellenistic name Gennesaret. THE PLAIN OF HAZOR: *Cf.* Josh. 11.1, 12.19; Judg. 4.2. It lies to the south of Kedesh.

68. THE ARMY OF THE HEATHEN: Indicating that the army was not made up of Galileans, who were in part Judaized.

ἐξέβαλον ἔνεδρον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν ἐξ ἐναντίας. [69]τὰ δὲ ἔνεδρα ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν τόπων
70 αὐτῶν καὶ συνῆψαν πόλεμον. [70]καὶ ἔφυγον οἱ παρὰ Ιωναθου πάντες, οὐδὲ εἷς κατελείφθη ἀπ' αὐτῶν πλὴν Ματταθιας ὁ τοῦ Αψαλωμου καὶ Ιουδας ὁ τοῦ Χαλφι ἄρχοντες τῆς στρατιᾶς τῶν δυνάμεων. [71]καὶ διέρρηξεν Ιωναθαν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέθετο γῆν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ προσηύξατο. [72]καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμῳ καὶ ἐτροπώσατο αὐτούς, καὶ ἔφυγον. [73]καὶ εἶδον οἱ φεύγοντες παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐδίωκον μετ' αὐτοῦ ἕως Κεδες ἕως τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτῶν καὶ παρενέβαλον ἐκεῖ. [74]καὶ ἔπεσον ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ εἰς ἄνδρας τρισχιλίους. καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν Ιωναθαν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ.

12 [1]Καὶ εἶδεν Ιωναθαν ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς αὐτῷ συνεργεῖ, καὶ ἐπελέξατο ἄνδρας καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ῥώμην στῆσαι καὶ ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν. [2]καὶ πρὸς Σπαρτιάτας καὶ τόπους ἑτέρους ἀπέστειλεν ἐπιστολὰς κατὰ τὰ αὐτά. [3]καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ εἶπον Ιωναθαν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ιουδαίων ἀπέστειλεν ἡμᾶς ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν φιλίαν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν κατὰ τὸ πρότερον. [4]καὶ ἔδωκαν ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τόπον, ὅπως προπέμπωσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς γῆν Ιουδα μετ' εἰρήνης.

5 [5]Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ὧν ἔγραψεν Ιωναθαν τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις

---

70 και εφυγον>S αψαλωμου A αβσαλωμου 19
73 φυγοντες A
74 εν τη ημερα εκεινη>107 XII
4 τον λαον και τον 19

---

70. NOT EVEN ONE OF THEM WAS LEFT: Josephus (161) says fifty men were left.

71. JONATHAN TORE HIS GARMENTS: According to Lev. 10.6, 21.10, the High Priest was forbidden to uncover his head or rend his garments. But this prohibition refers to the holy vestments worn during the service. Jonathan was in the field as a commander, not as a High Priest. Indeed it is doubtful whether the Jews had yet recognized him as the High Priest; he was appointed to the dignity by Alexander and later confirmed by Demetrius II.

They had set an ambush against him in the mountains,
while they themselves met him face to face. [69]The ambuscade
70 rose up from their places and joined battle. [70]All who were on
Jonathan's side fled, not even one of them was left, except
Mattathias son of Absalom, and Judas son of Chalphi, field-
captains of the troops. [71]Jonathan tore his garments, put dust
upon his head and prayed. [72]He turned against them again
in battle and put them to flight. [73]When those on his side
who were fleeing saw (this), they returned to him, and joined
with him in the pursuit as far as Kadesh to their camp.
There they pitched their camp. [74]On that day about three
thousand of the heathen were slain. Then Jonathan returned
to Jerusalem.

12 Jonathan saw that the time was opportune. He chose
men and sent them off to Rome to confirm and renew friend-
ship with them. [2]He sent letters also to the Spartans and to
other countries with the same purpose in view. [3]They went
to Rome, entered the Senate chamber, and said, "Jonathan
the High Priest and the Jewish people have sent us to renew
for them the former friendly alliance."

[4]They gave them letters to hand to the people in each
place, requesting that they be sent on their way to the land
of Judah in peace.

5 [5]This is the copy of the letter, which Jonathan wrote to the

73. TO THEIR CAMP: The enemy's camp at Kadesh.
74. THREE THOUSAND MEN: Josephus (163) had two thousand men.

1. THE TIME WAS OPPORTUNE: Josephus (163) has "When he saw that by God's providence all his affairs were going to his liking." There is no allusion in this book to any divine providence. HE CHOSE MEN: Numenius and Antipater. *Cf.* 16, 17. RENEW FRIENDSHIP WITH THEM: On the letters to the Romans and the Spartans see Introd. pp. 45–6.
2. THE SPARTANS: The Spartans had not joined the Achaean League and were friendly to the Romans.
3. ENTERING THE SENATE CHAMBER: See note on 8.19.
4. TO THE PEOPLE IN EACH PLACE: Roman officials. TO THE LAND OF JUDAH IN PEACE: To facilitate their journey and provide safe conduct through foreign countries en route home.

[6]Ἰωναθαν ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἡ γερουσία τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς δῆμος τῶν Ιουδαίων Σπαρτιάταις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς χαίρειν. [7]ἔτι πρότερον ἀπεστάλησαν ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Ονιαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα παρὰ Ἀρείου τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἐν ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐστὲ ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται. [8]καὶ ἐπεδέξατο ὁ Ονιας τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀπεσταλμένον ἐνδόξως καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς διεσαφεῖτο περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ φιλίας. [9]ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀπροσδεεῖς τούτων ὄντες παράκλησιν
10 ἔχοντες τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια τὰ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἡμῶν [10]ἐπειράθημεν ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀδελφότητα καὶ φιλίαν ἀνανεώσασθαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐξαλλοτριωθῆναι ὑμῶν· πολλοὶ γὰρ καιροὶ διῆλθον ἀφ' οὗ ἀπεστείλατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς. [11]ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἀδιαλείπτως ἔν τε ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς καθηκούσαις ἡμέραις μιμνῃσκόμεθα ὑμῶν ἐφ' ὧν προσφέρομεν θυσιῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς, ὡς δέον ἐστὶν καὶ πρέπον μνημονεύειν ἀδελφῶν. [12]εὐφραινόμεθα δὲ
ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ ὑμῶν. [13]ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐκύκλωσαν πολλαὶ θλίψεις καὶ πόλεμοι πολλοί, καὶ ἐπολέμησαν ἡμᾶς οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ κύκλῳ ἡμῶν. [14]οὐκ ἠβουλόμεθα οὖν παρενοχλῆσαι ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς συμμάχοις καὶ φίλοις ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις
15 τούτοις· [15]ἔχομεν γὰρ τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βοήθειαν βοηθοῦσαν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐρρύσθημεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ ἐταπεινώθησαν

---

6 *et seniores gentis* V *senatus gentis* B
κοινον των ιερεων Jos. 13. 166 [*ιουδαιων*] *populus iudaeorum* V
7 *αρεως* Jos. *ibid.* 167
9 *και ημεις* A
15 *οι εχθροι ημων*] *ενωπιον ημων* 93 19

---

6. JONATHAN, THE HIGH PRIEST: Josephus (166) adds "of the Jewish nation." Actually there was no such title as a "High Priest of the Jewish nation," but in Josephus's own day the High Priest was in fact the representative of the Jewish nation. THE COUNCIL: *gerousia;* this is the only place where this institution is mentioned. Judah, not being a High Priest, had no *gerousia*. This name occurs in II Maccabees, 4, 44; 11, 27, Judith, 4, 8; 15, 8, and in *Ant.* 12.138; 142. It never occurs in Josephus' later writings. His references are to the council in Alexandria (*Jewish War*, 7.10.1, 712); The *gerousia* was in existence before Judaea became an independent state and was presided over by the High Priest, who ruled as a vicar of God; his council or *gerousia* assisted in decisions and administration. But with the establishment of an independent Jewish state, the High Priest ceased to be the political ruler, and only his function

Spartans, [6]"Jonathan, the High Priest, the Council of the nation, the priests and the rest of the Jewish people to their Spartan brothers, greetings! [7]Even before this, a letter was sent to Onias the High Priest from Areius who was then king among you, to the effect that you are our kinsmen, as the copy herewith submitted sets forth. [8]Onias received the man who was sent honorably, and accepted the letter, in which declaration was made about alliance and friendship. [9]Although we are not in need of these pledges, since we find
10 encouragement in the holy books which we possess, [10]we have undertaken to send to you to renew the pact of brotherhood and friendship, that we may not become estranged from you; for much time has gone by since you sent word to us. [11]So we remember you at every opportunity, incessantly on the festivals and at other appropriate days, in the sacrifices which we offer and in our prayers, as it is right and fitting to recall our kinsmen. [12]Moreover we rejoice in your glory. [13]But many hardships and many wars surrounded us and the kings around us made war on us. [14]We did not wish, therefore, to trouble you nor the rest of our allies and our friends with
15 these wars; [15]for ours is the aid which comes to us from Heav-

as High Priest in the Temple remained. The civil leadership was vested first in the appointed leader (although he might also be high priest, as in the case of Simon) and later in the kings, who had their own Synedrion (council). Still later this leadership was vested in the *Bet-din*, which afterwards became known as the Sanhedrin. THE PRIESTS: Josephus (*Ant.* 13.166) has "and the council of priests," probably equivalent to the Talmudic *Bet-din Shel Kohonim*, "council of priests."

7. ONIAS THE HIGH PRIEST: Son of Jaddus or Jaddua, whose high priesthood fell between 320–290 BCE. FROM AREIUS: Or Areus, who reigned in Sparta 309–265 BCE. THAT YOU ARE OUR KINSMEN: Apparently there was a legend in the Orient that the Spartans and the Jews were of the same ancestry.

8. THE MAN WHO WAS SENT HONORABLY: Josephus (167) gives his name Demoteles.

11. ON THE FESTIVALS: Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles. AND AT OTHER APPROPRIATE DAYS: Josephus has on "memorial days;" The reference may be to New Year's day which was still called by its pentateuchal name, "the day of Remembrance." THE SACRIFICE WHICH WE OFFER: According to the Talmud Suk. 26. seventy oxen were sacrificed on the Festival of Tabernacles for the welfare of the seventy nations.

οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἡμῶν. [16]ἐπελέξαμεν οὖν Νουμήνιον Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀντίπατρον Ἰάσονος καὶ ἀπεστάλκαμεν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν πρότερον. [17]ἐνετειλάμεθα οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πορευθῆναι καὶ ἀσπάσασθαι ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ὑμῖν τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιστολὰς περὶ τῆς ἀνανεώσεως καὶ τῆς ἀδελφότητος ἡμῶν. [18]καὶ νῦν καλῶς ποιήσετε ἀντιφωνήσαντες ἡμῖν πρὸς ταῦτα.

[19]Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ὧν ἀπέστειλαν Ονια

20 [20]"Αρειος βασιλεὺς Σπαρτιατῶν Ονια ἱερεῖ μεγάλῳ χαίρειν. [21]εὑρέθη ἐν γραφῇ περί τε τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Ιουδαίων ὅτι εἰσὶν ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐκ γένους Αβρααμ. [22]καὶ νῦν ἀφ' οὗ ἔγνωμεν ταῦτα, καλῶς ποιήσετε γράφοντες ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑμῶν, [23]καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀντιγράφομεν ὑμῖν τὰ κτήνη ὑμῶν καὶ ἡ ὕπαρξις ὑμῶν ἡμῖν ἐστιν, καὶ τὰ ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἐστιν. ἐντελλόμεθα οὖν ὅπως ἀπαγγείλωσιν ὑμῖν κατὰ ταῦτα.

[24]Καὶ ἤκουσεν Ιωναθαν ὅτι ἐπέστρεψαν οἱ ἄρχοντες Δημητρίου μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς ὑπὲρ τὸ πρότερον τοῦ
25 πολεμῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν. [25]καὶ ἀπῆρεν ἐξ Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν Αμαθῖτιν χώραν· οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἀνοχὴν τοῦ ἐμβατεῦσαι εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ. [26]καὶ ἀπέστειλεν κατασκόπους εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ ὅτι οὕτως τάσσονται ἐπιπεσεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν νύκτα. [27]ὡς δὲ ἔδυ ὁ ἥλιος, ἐπέταξεν Ιωναθαν τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ γρηγορεῖν καὶ εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἑτοιμάζεσθαι εἰς πόλεμον δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ

---

18 εποιησαται A 25 απηρεν+ιωναθαν 311

---

19. ONIAS: See above v. 7.
20. HIGH PRIEST: The Greek has *ιερει μεγαλω*, representing כהן גדול.
21. THEY ARE OF THE FAMILY OF ABRAHAM: See above v. 7.
23. AND OURS ARE YOURS: *Cf.* II Kings 3.7.
24. JONATHAN HEARD: Here the narrative, interrupted by the story of the embassy to Rome and to Sparta, is resumed and continued with the sequence of the events in Judaea, following the break at 11.74.
25. THE COUNTRY OF HAMATH: Generally assumed to refer to the modern

en. We have been preserved from our enemies, while our enemies have been brought low. [16]We have selected Numenius, son of Antiochus, and Antipater, son of Jason, and have sent them to the Romans to renew our former friendly alliance with them. [17]We have ordered them to go to you also, to greet you and to deliver a letter from us concerning the renewal of our pledge of brotherhood. [18]Now will you please answer us about this."

[19]This is the copy of the letter which they sent to Onias,
20 [20]"Areius, King of the Spartans to Onias the High Priest, greetings! [21]It has been found in a document about the Spartans and Jews that they are related, and that they are of the family of Abraham. [22]Since we have learned this, will you please write us about your welfare. [23]We are writing in turn to you that your cattle and property are ours, and ours are yours. We charge them, therefore, to report this to you."

[24]Jonathan heard that the officers of Demetrius had returned with a greater army than before to make war on him.
25 [25]He set out from Jerusalem, and met up with them in the country of Hamath; for he gave them no time to make an inroad into his country. [26]He sent spies into their camp, and on their return they reported to him that they were forming to attack them within the night. [27]As soon as the sun had set, Jonathan ordered his men to be alert and under arms, so as to be ready for battle throughout the entire night; and

---

Hamah, on the river Orontes. Hamath is usually said to be the extreme northern frontier of the land of Israel. *Cf.* Num. 13.21; I Kings 8.65. It is difficult however to assume that it refers to the city of Hamath, which is NE of the River Eleutherus. In Verse 30 Demetrius' army is said to have crossed the Eleutherus River in retreat and hence were not pursued by Jonathan. It is hard to explain why the Syrian army retreated to the southwest toward Judaea instead of north to their bases at Apamea and Antioch. The reference probably is to the city of Hamath, situated on Lake Kinneret (Gennesaret), which was later incorporated with the city of Tiberias. *Cf.* Tosefta Er. 7.2. TO MAKE AN INROAD INTO HIS COUNTRY: Jonathan wished to meet the army of Demetrius at the border of Judaea to prevent it from invading his country.

ἐξέβαλεν προφύλακας κύκλῳ τῆς παρεμβολῆς. [28]καὶ ἤκουσαν
οἱ ὑπεναντίοι ὅτι ἡτοίμασται Ιωναθαν καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ
εἰς πόλεμον, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ ἔπτηξαν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν
καὶ ἀνέκαυσαν πυρὰς ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ αὐτῶν. [29]Ιωναθαν
δὲ καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ἕως πρωί, ἔβλεπον γὰρ
30 τὰ φῶτα καιόμενα. [30]καὶ κατεδίωξεν Ιωναθαν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν
καὶ οὐ κατέλαβεν αὐτούς, διέβησαν γὰρ τὸν Ἐλεύθερον
ποταμόν. [31]καὶ ἐξέκλινεν Ιωναθαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας τοὺς
καλουμένους Ζαβαδαίους καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλαβεν
τὰ σκῦλα αὐτῶν. [32]καὶ ἀναζεύξας ἦλθεν εἰς Δαμασκὸν καὶ
διώδευσεν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ. [33]καὶ Σιμων ἐξῆλθεν καὶ διώ-
δευσεν ἕως Ἀσκαλῶνος καὶ τὰ πλησίον ὀχυρώματα καὶ
ἐξέκλινεν εἰς Ιοππην καὶ προκατελάβετο αὐτήν· [34]ἤκουσεν
γὰρ ὅτι βούλονται τὸ ὀχύρωμα παραδοῦναι τοῖς παρὰ
Δημητρίου· καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ φρουράν, ὅπως φυλάσσωσιν
35 αὐτήν. [35]καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν Ιωναθαν καὶ ἐξεκκλησίασεν τοὺς
πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐβουλεύετο μετ' αὐτῶν τοῦ
οἰκοδομῆσαι ὀχυρώματα ἐν τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ [36]καὶ προσυψῶσαι
τὰ τείχη Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ὑψῶσαι ὕψος μέγα ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς
ἄκρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ διαχωρίζειν αὐτὴν τῆς πόλεως,
ἵνα ᾖ αὕτη κατὰ μόνας, ὅπως μήτε ἀγοράζωσιν μήτε πωλῶ-
σιν. [37]καὶ συνήχθησαν τοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἔπεσεν
τοῦ τείχους τοῦ χειμάρρου τοῦ ἐξ ἀπηλιώτου, καὶ ἐπεσκεύασεν

---

28 αυτων+και ανεχωρησαν 93 Jos. (13.178)

36 διαχωρισαι A

---

28. KINDLED FIRES IN THEIR CAMP AND DEPARTED: To deceive Jonathan into thinking that they were still in camp. The words "and departed" are not found in our text. See critical note.

30. THE ELEUTHERUS RIVER: See 11.7.

31. ZABADEANS: The place was probably called Zabdini and was situated NW of Damascus, NE of Chalcis; *cf. Megillat Taanit*, ed. Zeitlin p. 112–14.

32. AND WENT TO DAMASCUS: Josephus (179) relates that after defeating the Arabs Jonathan drove the captives and their cattle to Damascus where he sold them. Our author says nothing of this. Marcus, *Ant.* 13.179. noted, (The Loeb Cl. Lib.,) is quite right in suggesting that our text read διώδευσε, "he marched through," which Josephus wrongly read διέδωκε, "he distributed." Jonathan became the master of the entire country, including Damascus.

he surrounded his camp with sentries. [28]When his opponents heard that Jonathan and his men were ready for battle, they were greatly terrified. Then after having kindled fires in their camp, they departed. [29]Jonathan and his men did not know this until morning, when they saw the fires burn-
30 ing. [30]Jonathan pursued them, but could not overtake them, for they had crossed the Eleutherus river. [31]Jonathan then diverted against the Arabs who are called Zabadaeans, defeating and plundering them. [32]After this he set out and went to Damascus, making his way through the whole country.

[33]Simon set out and made his way to Askalon and the nearby fortresses. Turning aside against Joppa, he took possession of it by surprise; [34]for he had heard that the people wished to hand over the stronghold to Demetrius' men. He then stationed a garrison there to guard it.

35 [35]When Jonathan returned, he called together the elders of the people, planned with them to build fortifications in Judaea, [36]to make the walls of Jerusalem higher, and to raise a great mound between the citadel and the city, to separate it from the city, so as to isolate it, preventing them from either buying or selling. [37]When they gathered together to build the city, part of the wall by the winter-torrent on the east side fell down, and he repaired the so-called Chaphena-

---

33. JOPPA: See above, 10.75.

35. TO BUILD FORTIFICATIONS IN JUDAEA: Josephus (181) says that Jonathan assembled the people in the Temple, to ask their consent for the building of fortifications, since some of these were doubtless to be erected at border points which did not originally belong to Israel. According to a tannaitic source additions to the city of Jerusalem may be made only with the consent of the *Sanhedrin*. *Cf.* Mishna San. 1.5; Sheb. 2.2.

36. EITHER BUYING OR SELLING: To starve the citadel garrison out.

37. SO CALLED CHAPHENATHA: No explanation is given for this name, and all commentators acknowledge its obscurity. Perhaps it was originally חפנא, Chaphena, meaning "hunger." The part of the wall which was restored by Jonathan might be called by this name because it would prevent the garrison in the citadel from getting provisions.

τὸ καλούμενον Χαφεναθα. 38καὶ Σιμων ᾠκοδόμησεν τὴν Αδιδα ἐν τῇ Σεφηλα καὶ ὠχύρωσεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπέστησεν θύρας καὶ μοχλούς.

39Καὶ ἐζήτησεν Τρύφων βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ περιθέσθαι τὸ διάδημα καὶ ἐκτεῖναι χεῖρα ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον
40 τὸν βασιλέα. 40καὶ εὐλαβήθη μήποτε οὐκ ἐάσῃ αὐτὸν Ιωναθαν καὶ μήποτε πολεμήσῃ πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐζήτει συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀπολέσαι, καὶ ἀπάρας ἦλθεν εἰς Βαιθσαν. 41καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Ιωναθαν εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτῷ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα χιλιάσιν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλελεγμέναις εἰς παράταξιν καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Βαιθσαν. 42καὶ εἶδεν Τρύφων ὅτι ἦλθεν μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, καὶ ἐκτεῖναι χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτὸν εὐλαβήθη. 43καὶ ἐπεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἐνδόξως καὶ συνέστησεν αὐτὸν πᾶσιν τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δόματα καὶ ἐπέταξεν τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν αὐτοῦ ὑπακούειν αὐτοῦ ὡς αὐτοῦ. 44καὶ εἶπεν τῷ Ιωναθαν Ἵνα τί ἐκόπωσας πάντα τὸν
45 λαὸν τοῦτον πολέμου μὴ ἐνεστηκότος ἡμῖν; 45καὶ νῦν ἀπόστειλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν, ἐπίλεξαι δὲ σεαυτῷ ἄνδρας ὀλίγους, οἵτινες ἔσονται μετὰ σοῦ, καὶ δεῦρο μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς Πτολεμαίδα, καὶ παραδώσω σοι αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὀχυρώματα καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς λοιπὰς καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν χρειῶν, καὶ ἐπιστρέψας ἀπελεύσομαι· τούτου γὰρ χάριν πάρειμι. 46καὶ ἐμπιστεύσας αὐτῷ ἐποίησεν καθὼς εἶπεν, καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν τὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ ἀπῆλθον εἰς γῆν Ιουδα. 47κατέλιπεν δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἄνδρας τρισχιλίους, ὧν δισχιλίους ἀφῆκεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, χίλιοι δὲ συνῆλθον αὐτῷ. 48ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθεν Ιωναθαν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα, ἀπέκλεισαν οἱ Πτολεμαεῖς

---

38 σεφηλα+(πεδ(ε)ινη) S
40 εζητει πορον του απολεσαι] αποκτειναι A 106
41 εις απαντησιν αυτω>93 επιλελεγμεναι A 120
42 οτι παρεστι A ευλαβηθη ante εκετειναι 64 93
44 εκοψας S A
45 λοιπας] πολλας A 106
46 δυναμεις+ιωναθαν S
47 και ως ανδρας S

---

38. BUILT ADIDA: Heb. *Hadid: cf.* Ezra 2.33; Neh. 7.37; Mishna Ar. 9.6. According to Josephus (203) Adida was situated on a hill, above the plains of Judaea. It was of strategic importance; Vespasian, in his war against the Jews, fortified Adida and placed a garrison there. It is over three miles

tha. [38]Simon built Adida in the lowlands, fortified it, and set up gates and bars.

[39]Tryphon sought to rule over Asia by assuming the crown
40 and to kill King Antiochus. [40]He was cautious lest Jonathan might prevent him and make war against him. Because of this he sought a means of arresting him so as to put him to death. For this reason he set out and came to Beth Shean. [41]Jonathan came out to oppose him with forty thousand men selected for battle, and came to Beth Shean. [42]When Tryphon saw that he had come with such a great army, he was cautious about killing him. [43]He received him instead with honor, introducing him to all his Friends, bestowing gifts upon him and briefing his Friends and troops to obey him as they would himself. [44]He said to Jonathan, "Why have you wearied all
45 this people although there is no war between us? [45]Come now, send them back to their homes. Choose a few men to stay over with you, then come with me to Ptolemais, which I shall turn over to you along with the rest of the fortresses, and all of its many troops and officers in charge. Then I shall turn right around and go away, for because of this I came."

[46]Believing him, he did just as he said, sending back his troops, who returned to the land of Judah. [47]He kept with him three thousand men, about two thousand of whom he left in Galilee, while one thousand accompanied him. [48]When Jonathan, however, entered Ptolemais, the citizens of Ptole-

---

east of Lydda and NW of Jerusalem. IN THE LOW LANDS: The text has in the *Shephelah*. *Cf.* Mishna Sheb. 9.2.

39. TO KILL: Lit., to stretch forth his hand. Heb. *Cf.* Gen. 22.12; I Sam. 24.6.

40. BETH SHEAN: Scythopolis. See above 5.52.

41. FORTY THOUSAND MEN: This is the largest force so far mustered by the Hasmoneans, and indicates the great influence and power which Jonathan wielded in the land.

42. KILLING: Lit., to stretch forth his hand.

45. PTOLEMAIS: Akko; although outside the boundary of Judaea, this city belonged to Jonathan, having been given to him by Demetrius. See 10.39. FORTRESSES: Perhaps those on the coast between Ptolemais and Joppa.

48. PUT TO DEATH BY THE SWORD: Josephus (192) adds that the Ptolemaians, under Tryphon's orders, took Jonathan alive and killed all the men with him.

τὰς πύλας καὶ συνέλαβον αὐτόν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς συνεισελθόντας μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτειναν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ. [49]καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Τρύφων δυνάμεις καὶ ἵππον εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ μέγα τοῦ ἀπολέσαι πάντας τοὺς παρὰ Ιωναθου.
50 [50]καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν ὅτι συνελήμφθη καὶ ἀπόλωλεν καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ παρεκάλεσαν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐπορεύοντο συνεστραμμένοι ἕτοιμοι εἰς πόλεμον. [51]καὶ εἶδον οἱ διώκοντες ὅτι περὶ ψυχῆς αὐτοῖς ἐστιν, καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν. [52]καὶ ἦλθον πάντες μετ' εἰρήνης εἰς γῆν Ιουδα καὶ ἐπένθησαν τὸν Ιωναθαν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα· καὶ ἐπένθησεν πᾶς Ισραηλ πένθος μέγα. [53]καὶ ἐζήτησαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ κύκλῳ αὐτῶν ἐκτρῖψαι αὐτούς· εἶπον γάρ Οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἄρχοντα καὶ βοηθοῦντα· νῦν οὖν πολεμήσωμεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξάρωμεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν.

13 [1]Καὶ ἤκουσεν Σιμων ὅτι συνήγαγεν Τρύφων δύναμιν πολλὴν τοῦ ἐλθεῖν εἰς γῆν Ιουδα καὶ ἐκτρῖψαι αὐτήν. [2]καὶ εἶδεν τὸν λαόν, ὅτι ἔντρομός ἐστιν καὶ ἔκφοβος, καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἤθροισεν τὸν λαὸν [3]καὶ παρεκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Αὐτοὶ οἴδατε ὅσα ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ πατρός μου ἐποιήσαμεν περὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ τοὺς πολέμους καὶ τὰς στενοχωρίας, ἃς εἴδομεν. [4]τούτου χάριν ἀπώλοντο οἱ ἀδελφοί μου πάντες
5 χάριν τοῦ Ισραηλ, καὶ κατελείφθην ἐγὼ μόνος. [5]καὶ νῦν μή μοι γένοιτο φείσασθαί μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ θλίψεως· οὐ γάρ εἰμι κρείσσων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου. [6]πλὴν ἐκδικήσω περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους μου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ περὶ

---

49 και το πεδιον το μεγα>71 107 50 συνεστρατευμενοι 58 συνεστρεμμενοι A XIII 3 περι] χαριν S

---

49. THE GREAT PLAIN: Some MSS omit, and rightly. The "plain" cannot refer to the great *Shephelah* valley which stretched between the Jordan and Mt. Gilbah. *Cf.* 5.52.

52. MOURNED FOR JONATHAN: Jonathan was still held captive but the rumor had apparently spread among the Jews that he had been killed.

53. NOR HELPER: Previously Jonathan had always succeeded in having one of the pretenders on his side and could play one against the other.

mais closed the gates and arrested him. They put to death by the sword all those who had accompanied him. [49]Tryphon then sent troops and cavalry into Galilee to the great plain,
50 in order to destroy all of Jonathan's men. [50]When Jonathan's troops found out that he had been arrested and killed along with his men, they encouraged each other, and marched away in close ranks, ready for battle. [51]Their pursuers saw that they were ready to fight for their lives and they turned back. [52]They all arrived safely in the land of Judah, but they mourned for Jonathan and his men, and were greatly afraid; and all Israel mourned deeply. [53]All the heathen around them sought to destroy them, because, they said, "They have no leader nor helper; now therefore let us make war on them, and erase their memory from among men."

13 Simon heard that Tryphon had mustered a great army to invade the land of Judah and to destroy it completely. [2]He saw that the people were trembling with fear. He went up to Jerusalem and, gathering the people together, [3]he encouraged them, saying to them, "You yourselves know how much I and my brothers and my father's house have done for the laws and the sanctuary, and (you know) the wars and the difficulties we have seen. [4]Because of this, my brothers have
5 all perished in Israel's behalf and I alone am left. [5]Now far be it from me to spare myself in any time of distress, for I am no better than my brothers. [6]Be assured that I will take revenge for my nation, for the sanctuary, for your wives and

---

But now both pretenders, Demetrius and Tryphon, were against the Jews.

3. AND THE SANCTUARY: Josephus (13.198) assigns national as well as religious sentiments to Simon: "It was for your liberty, men, coreligionists, that I and my brothers together with our father have dared death. . . . The men of our house were born to die on behalf of our laws and our religion. . . ."

4. MY BROTHERS HAVE ALL PERISHED: Apparently Simon thought Jonathan had already been put to death by Tryphon. On Eleazar's death see 6.46; on Judah's, 9.18; John 9.36.42.

5. FAR BE IT FROM ME: *Cf.* 9.10.

τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ὑμῶν, ὅτι συνήχθησαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐκτρῖψαι ἡμᾶς ἔχθρας χάριν. [7]καὶ ἀνεζωπύρησεν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ λαοῦ ἅμα τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν λόγων τούτων, [8]καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες Σὺ εἶ ἡμῶν ἡγούμενος ἀντὶ Ιουδου καὶ Ιωναθου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου· [9]πολέμησον τὸν πόλεμον ἡμῶν, καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν εἴπῃς ἡμῖν, ποιήσομεν.
10 [10]καὶ συνήγαγεν πάντας τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς πολεμιστὰς καὶ ἐτάχυνεν τοῦ τελέσαι τὰ τείχη Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ὠχύρωσεν αὐτὴν κυκλόθεν. [11]καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Ιωναθαν τὸν τοῦ Αψαλωμου καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἱκανὴν εἰς Ιοππην, καὶ ἐξέβαλεν τοὺς
15 ὄντας ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ ἐν αὐτῇ.

[12]Καὶ ἀπῆρεν Τρύφων ἀπὸ Πτολεμαίδος μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς ἐλθεῖν εἰς γῆν Ιουδα, καὶ Ιωναθαν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν φυλακῇ. [13]Σιμων δὲ παρενέβαλεν ἐν Αδιδοις κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ πεδίου. [14]καὶ ἐπέγνω Τρύφων ὅτι ἀνέστη Σιμων ἀντὶ Ιωναθου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι συνάπτειν αὐτῷ μέλλει
15 πόλεμον, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις λέγων [15]Περὶ ἀργυρίου, οὗ ὤφειλεν Ιωναθαν ὁ ἀδελφός σου εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν δι' ἃς εἶχεν χρείας, συνέχομεν αὐτόν· [16]καὶ νῦν ἀπόστειλον ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑκατὸν καὶ δύο τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ὅμηρα, ὅπως μὴ ἀφεθεὶς ἀποστατήσῃ ἀφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀφήσομεν αὐτόν. [17]καὶ ἔγνω Σιμων ὅτι δόλῳ λαλοῦσιν πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ πέμπει τοῦ λαβεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὰ παιδάρια, μήποτε ἔχθραν ἄρῃ μεγάλην πρὸς τὸν λαὸν [18]λέγοντες Ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέστειλα αὐτῷ τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὰ παιδάρια, ἀπώλετο. [19]καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τὰ παιδάρια καὶ τὰ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, καὶ

---

8 των αδελφων 55 107 *Fratrum tuorum* B

17 προς αυτον>71

---

8. YOU ARE OUR LEADER: He had been elected civil and military leader but had not yet been appointed High Priest. YOUR BROTHERS: Our text has "your brother"; *cf.* critical note.

10. TO COMPLETE THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM: Which were begun by Jonathan. See above 12.36.

11. WITH A SIZABLE ARMY TO JOPPA: Josephus (202) says that Simon's purpose in sending an army to Joppa was to drive the inhabitants out of the city, as he feared that they would treacherously turn it over to Tryphon.

children, because all the heathen have gathered together out of enmity to destroy us."

7The spirit of the people, upon hearing these words, rekindled. 8They answered with a great shout, saying,

"You are our leader, in place of Judah and Jonathan your brothers. 9Continue our war. Whatever you command us, we will do."

10 10He mustered all the fighting men, hastened to complete the walls of Jerusalem, and surrounded it with fortifications. 11He sent Jonathan son of Absalom with a sizable army to Joppa, who drove out those who were in it, and he stayed there.

12Tryphon then set out from Ptolemais with a great army to invade the land of Judah, and Jonathan was with him under guard. 13Simon in turn encamped in Adida facing the plain. 14When Tryphon discovered that Simon had succeeded his brother Jonathan, and intended making war on
15 him, he sent ambassadors to him saying, 15"It is because your brother Jonathan owed money to the royal treasury, for offices that he held, that we are holding him. 16Send a hundred talents of silver and two of his sons as hostages, as assurance that he will not revolt against us when he is freed, and we will let him go."

17Simon knew that they were speaking to him treacherously; he nevertheless sent to get the money and the children, that he should at no time incur hostility on the part of the people, 18who might say, "Because I did not send the money and the children to him, he perished."

19He sent the children and the hundred talents, only to find that Tryphon had deceived him and would not free

---

13. IN ADIDA: *Cf.* 12.38.

15. FOR OFFICES THAT HE HELD: In his message to Simon, Tryphon emphasized that offices were held by the Jews by the grace of the Syrian government and hence were to be paid for; in other words, that Judaea was not sovereign but a dependency of Syria.

20 διεψεύσατο καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκεν τὸν Ιωναθαν. [20]καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
ἦλθεν Τρύφων τοῦ ἐμβατεῦσαι εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ἐκτρῖψαι
αὐτήν, καὶ ἐκύκλωσαν ὁδὸν τὴν εἰς Αδωρα. καὶ Σιμων καὶ
ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ ἀντιπαρῆγεν αὐτῷ εἰς πάντα τόπον,
οὗ ἂν ἐπορεύετο. [21]οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἀπέστελλον πρὸς
Τρύφωνα πρεσβευτὰς κατασπεύδοντας αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐλθεῖν
πρὸς αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι αὐτοῖς τροφάς.
[22]καὶ ἡτοίμασεν Τρύφων πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν,
καὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ἦν χιὼν πολλὴ σφόδρα, καὶ οὐκ ἦλθεν
διὰ τὴν χιόνα. καὶ ἀπῆρεν καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Γαλααδῖτιν.
[23]ὡς δὲ ἤγγισεν τῆς Βασκαμα, ἀπέκτεινεν τὸν Ιωναθαν, καὶ
ἐτάφη ἐκεῖ. [24]καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν Τρύφων καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν
γῆν αὐτοῦ.

25 [25]Καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Σιμων καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰ ὀστᾶ Ιωναθου τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔθαψεν αὐτὸν ἐν Μωδεϊν πόλει τῶν
πατέρων αὐτοῦ. [26]καὶ ἐκόψαντο αὐτὸν πᾶς Ισραηλ κοπετὸν
μέγαν καὶ ἐπένθησαν αὐτὸν ἡμέρας πολλάς. [27]καὶ ᾠκοδό-
μησεν Σιμων ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν
ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὕψωσεν αὐτὸν τῇ ὁράσει λίθῳ ξεστῷ
ἐκ τῶν ὄπισθεν καὶ ἔμπροσθεν. [28]καὶ ἔστησεν ἑπτὰ πυραμίδας,
μίαν κατέναντι τῆς μιᾶς, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς
τέσσαρσιν ἀδελφοῖς. [29]καὶ ταύταις ἐποίησεν μηχανήματα
περιθεὶς στύλους μεγάλους καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τοῖς στύλοις
πανοπλίας εἰς ὄνομα αἰώνιον καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πανοπλίαις
πλοῖα ἐγγεγλυμμένα εἰς τὸ θεωρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν

---

23 βασκα Jos. (13. 210)‘ 28 τεσσαρσιν>S
27 λιθω ξυστω A 29 ταυταις>107 πλοια] ποια A

---

20. ADORA: Adoraim; *cf.* II Chr. 11.9. It lies about 6 mi. SW of Hebron, not far from the boundary between Judaea and Idumaea. WHEREVER HE MARCHED: Tryphon's army traveled among the lowlands to the south. Simon marched his army through the hilly country to occupy a position between the Syrian army and Jerusalem.

21. TO SEND FOOD TO THEM: The walls built by Jonathan around the citadel to prevent the Hellenized Jews from obtaining food proved effective; hence they begged Tryphon to hasten food to them.

20 Jonathan. [20]After this Tryphon came to invade the country
and to destroy it. They circled around by the road to Adora,
with Simon and his army paralleling him wherever he marched.
[21]The garrison in the citadel sent ambassadors to Tryphon
urging him to come to them through the wilderness country
and to send food to them. [22]Tryphon prepared his cavalry
to go, but that night there was a heavy snowfall. He could
not go on account of the snow, but he started out and went
to Gilead. [23]As he approached Bascama, he killed Jonathan,
and buried him there. [24]Then Tryphon turned back and went
away to his own land.

25 [25]Simon sent for the bones of Jonathan his brother, and
buried him in Modin. [26]All Israel mourned greatly for him,
and lamented his loss for many days. [27]Simon built a monu-
ment of polished stone back and front, over the grave of his
father and his brothers, and made it high enough to be seen
from afar. [28]He set up seven pyramids, one beside the other,
for his father and mother and his four brothers. [29]For these
he constructed cranes to set up large columns around them,
and upon them he set trophies for a perpetual memory.
Besides the trophies were carved ships that could be seen

---

22. SNOW: Snowfall is infrequent south of Jerusalem, but does occur, particularly in the hill country. The roads became hazardous, especially for the cavalry. WENT TO GILEAD: He had to give up his march against Jerusalem, but turned to the extreme south of the Dead Sea and proceeded to Gilead, east of the Jordan.

23. BASCAMA: Josephus (210) has Basca. This place has not been satisfactorily identified. Bevenot thinks it is the modern Tell Bazuk, NE of the Lake of Tiberias, but this identification is questionable.

24. TO HIS OWN LAND: Syria.

25. MODIN: Mattathias was buried in Modin. See 2.70.

27. POLISHED STONE: Josephus (211) says that the monument was of white marble.

28. SEVEN PYRAMIDS: The seven pyramids were erected over the graves, two for his parents, four for his brothers, and the seventh as a monument for himself.

29. CARVED SHIPS: Symbolizing the victories of the Hasmonaeans on land and sea.

30 πλεόντων τὴν θάλασσαν. [30]οὗτος ὁ τάφος, ὃν ἐποίησεν ἐν Μωδεΐν, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης.

[31]Ὁ δὲ Τρύφων ἐπορεύετο δόλῳ μετὰ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ νεωτέρου καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν [32]καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καὶ περιέθετο τὸ διάδημα τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ ἐποίησεν πληγὴν μεγάλην ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. [33]καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν Σιμων τὰ ὀχυρώματα τῆς Ιουδαίας καὶ περιετείχισεν πύργοις ὑψηλοῖς καὶ τείχεσιν μεγάλοις καὶ πύλαις καὶ μοχλοῖς καὶ ἔθετο βρώματα ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν. [34]καὶ ἐπέλεξεν Σιμων ἄνδρας καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς Δημήτριον τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ ποιῆσαι ἄφεσιν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ πράξεις Τρύφωνος ἦσαν
35 ἁρπαγαί. [35]καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ καὶ ἔγραψεν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴν τοιαύτην

[36]Βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Σιμωνι ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ φίλῳ βασιλέων καὶ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ ἔθνει Ιουδαίων χαίρειν. [37]τὸν στέφανον τὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ τὴν βαΐνην, ἣν ἀπεστείλατε, κεκομίσμεθα καὶ ἕτοιμοί ἐσμεν τοῦ ποιεῖν ὑμῖν εἰρήνην μεγάλην καὶ γράφειν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν χρειῶν τοῦ ἀφιέναι ὑμῖν τὰ ἀφέματα. [38]καὶ ὅσα ἐστήσαμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἔστηκεν, καὶ τὰ ὀχυρώματα, ἃ ᾠκοδομήσατε, ὑπαρχέτω ὑμῖν. [39]ἀφίεμεν δὲ ἀγνοήματα καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ τὸν στέφανον, ὃν ὠφείλετε, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐτελωνεῖτο ἐν Ιερουσαλημ,

---

30 εποιησεν σιμων 311 | 34 επελεξατο A ησαν αρπαγμοι 55
33 ιουδαιας — ιδουμαιας S | 37 βαιν A

---

30. TO THIS DAY: Josephus (212) also relates that these monuments were preserved to "his day." Eusebius *op. cit.* 132 says that the sepulchres of the Maccabees were still visible in his time. *Modeim . . . unde fuerunt Maccabaei, quorum hodieque ibidem sepulcra monstrantur.*

31. KILLED HIM: Livy (55) says that Tryphon bribed Antiochus' physician to remove a stone from his bladder, and that he died in the process.

32. THE DIADEM OF ASIA: According to Josephus (218–19) Tryphon assumed the crown of Asia after Demetrius was taken captive. *Cf.* Introd. p. 35. Regarding the reign of Demetrius see App. C. CALAMITY UPON THE LAND: His army deserted and went over to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius II. She requested Antiochus VII, brother of Demetrius, to marry her and assume the crown. *Cf.* Josephus (221–2).

33. FORTRESSES OF JUDAEA: Simon saw a great opportunity to fortify Judaea while Tryphon and Demetrius were occupied in fighting each

30 by all who sail the sea. [30]This cenotaph, which he built in
Modin, is there to this day.

[31]Tryphon proceeded in his treachery with King Antiochus
the younger, and killed him, [32]and succeeded him, donning
the diadem of Asia, thus bringing great calamity upon the
land.

[33]In the meanwhile Simon built the fortresses of Judaea,
surrounded them with high towers, great walls, gates and
bars, and stored up food in the fortresses. [34]Simon selected
men, and sent them to King Demetrius to effect a release
from taxation for the country, because the sole activities of
35 Tryphon were to plunder. [35]King Demetrius sent a message
to him in these words in answer, and wrote a letter to him
in this manner, [36]"King Demetrius to Simon, the High Priest
and Friend of Kings, and to the elders and to the nation of
the Jews, greetings! [37]We have received the gold crown and
the palm branch which you sent, and are ready to make a
lasting peace with you, and to write to our officials to grant
you immunities. [38]Whatever favors we have guaranteed to
you stand confirmed. The fortresses which you built, let
them belong to you. [39]We cancel in your favor any errors and
omissions as of this day, as well as the crown tax which you
owe. If there is any other tax collected in Jerusalem, let it be

other for the throne of Syria.

34. SIMON SELECTED MEN: Simon, like Jonathan, favored Alexander and then helped his son Antiochus VII and Tryphon against Demetrius I and II. Simon changed this policy and appealed to Demetrius II to make peace, but asked him to free Judaea, *i. e.*, to recognize Judaea as an independent state. Exploiting Demetrius's helplessness and need of allies in his struggle with Tryphon, Simon achieved a great diplomatic victory and obtained the freedom of Judaea. Incidentally he intimated to Demetrius that he had come over to him after Tryphon had vitiated the alliance by plundering the country. Thus Simon indicated that he could remain loyal only if both sides abided by their agreement.

36. KING DEMETRIUS: The letter was addressed to Simon the High Priest and also to the elders of the entire Jewish community.

37. LASTING PEACE: Lit. "great peace."

39. LET IT BE COLLECTED NO LONGER: This release from taxation was tantamount to recognizing Judaea as a sovereign country, *de facto et de jure*.

40 μηκέτι τελωνείσθω. 40καὶ εἴ τινες ἐπιτήδειοι ὑμῶν γραφῆναι
εἰς τοὺς περὶ ἡμᾶς, ἐγγραφέσθωσαν, καὶ γινέσθω ἀνὰ
μέσον ἡμῶν εἰρήνη.

41Ἔτους ἑβδομηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ ἤρθη ὁ ζυγὸς τῶν
ἐθνῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ισραηλ, 42καὶ ἤρξατο ὁ λαὸς γράφειν ἐν
ταῖς συγγραφαῖς καὶ συναλλάγμασιν Ἔτους πρώτου ἐπὶ
Σιμωνος ἀρχιερέως μεγάλου καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου
Ιουδαίων.

43Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις παρενέβαλεν ἐπὶ Γαζαρα καὶ
ἐκύκλωσεν αὐτὴν παρεμβολαῖς καὶ ἐποίησεν ἑλέπολιν καὶ
προσήγαγεν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐπάταξεν πύργον ἕνα καὶ κατελά-
βετο. 44καὶ ἐξήλλοντο οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐλεοπόλει εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ
45 ἐγένετο κίνημα μέγα ἐν τῇ πόλει. 45καὶ ἀνέβησαν οἱ ἐν τῇ
πόλει σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος διερρη-
χότες τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν καὶ ἐβόησαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἀξιοῦντες
Σιμωνα δεξιὰς αὐτοῖς δοῦναι 46καὶ εἶπαν Μὴ ἡμῖν χρήσῃ
κατὰ τὰς πονηρίας ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἔλεός σου. 47καὶ
συνελύθη αὐτοῖς Σιμων καὶ οὐκ ἐπολέμησεν αὐτούς· καὶ
ἐξέβαλεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐκαθάρισεν τὰς οἰκίας,
ἐν αἷς ἦν τὰ εἴδωλα, καὶ οὕτως εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὴν ὑμνῶν
καὶ εὐλογῶν. 48καὶ ἐξέβαλεν ἐξ αὐτῆς πᾶσαν ἀκαθαρσίαν
καὶ κατῴκισεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἄνδρας, οἵτινες τὸν νόμον ποιήσωσιν,
καὶ προσωχύρωσεν. αὐτὴν καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῷ ἐν αὐτῇ
οἴκησιν.

49Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἐν Ιερουσαλημ ἐκωλύοντο ἐκπορεύ-

42 λαος+ισραηλ A
43 παρενεβαλεν+σιμων 311 γαζαραν] γαζαν L V
45 επι το τειχος>93 αξιουντες>S
48 ποιουσι A
49 και εισπορευεσθαι>A 311 93

41. ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTIETH YEAR: 144–43 BCE.

42. THE FIRST YEAR OF SIMON: Previously, the Jews of Judaea had used the Seleucid Era, but beginning with 144–43 BCE, or more precisely the Spring of 143, they began to use the era of independence. Later they counted the years according to the reigns of the kings. The era of the Hasmonean dynasty began with Tishri, New Year, 141 BCE, but the years of the kings were counted from the Spring. "The first of Nisan is the new year of kings:" R.H. 1.1. In Babylonia, however, the Jews continued reckoning time and dating documents according to the year of the Seleucids. So it is stated in the Mishna R.H.: "In the Diaspora

40 collected no longer. [40]If any of you are eligible to be enrolled
in our court, let them be enrolled, and let there be peace
between us."

[41]In the one hundred and seventieth year the yoke of the
heathen was lifted from Israel. [42]The people of Israel began
to write in their documents and contracts, "In the first year
of Simon, the great High Priest and General and Ruler of the
Jews."

[43]At that time Simon besieged Gazara, and surrounded it
with troops. He built a "city taker" siege engine, and brought
it close to the city, and battered one tower and took it.
[44]Those who manned the siege engine leaped out into the city
45 and there was great commotion. [45]The inhabitants with their
wives and children went up on the wall, tearing their clothes
and shouting loudly, beseeching Simon to make peace with
them. [46]They said, "Do not deal with us according to our
wickedness, but in accordance with your mercy."

[47]Simon became reconciled with them, and did not fight
them; but he banished them from the city, and purified the
houses where there were idols, and entered it with hymns and
songs of praise. [48]He cast out every impurity from it, and
settled in it men who observed the Law. He made it stronger
than it was before, and built a house for himself in it.

[49]In the meanwhile, the men of the citadel in Jerusalem

[*i. e.* Babylonia] the era was in accordance to the kingdom of Greece," *i. e.*, Seleucid. This era was used by the Jews of the Middle Ages and was called "era of contracts." THE GREAT HIGH PRIEST: Here and elsewhere the Greek has *αρχιερεως μεγαλου*. The Hebrew had כהן הגדול which the translator rendered sometimes "high priest" and sometimes "great high priest." RULER OF THE JEWS: Josephus (214) has *ethnarch*, but this is a late Roman title.

43. GAZARA: *Cf.* above 4.15. It was not far from the citadel. Some MSS have Gaza. *Cf.* Abel *RB.* 35, p. 515.

45. TO MAKE PEACE WITH THEM: Lit. "right hands." *Cf.* above 6.58.

46. OUR WICKEDNESS: LXX Isa. 1.16; Mark 7.22.

48. BUILT A HOUSE FOR HIMSELF: v. 53 states that his son John also dwelt in Gazara.

49. TO BUY AND SELL: *Cf.* above 12.36.

εσθαι καὶ εἰσπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν χώραν ἀγοράζειν καὶ πωλεῖν καὶ ἐπείνασαν σφόδρα, καὶ ἀπώλοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν
50 ἱκανοὶ τῷ λιμῷ. 50καὶ ἐβόησαν πρὸς Σιμωνα δεξιὰς λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἐξέβαλεν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἐκαθάρισεν τὴν ἄκραν ἀπὸ τῶν μιασμάτων. 51καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς αὐτὴν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ δευτέρου μηνὸς ἔτους πρώτου καὶ ἑβδομηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ μετὰ αἰνέσεως καὶ βαΐων καὶ ἐν κινύραις καὶ ἐν κυμβάλοις καὶ ἐν νάβλαις καὶ ἐν ὕμνοις καὶ ἐν ᾠδαῖς, ὅτι συνετρίβη ἐχθρὸς μέγας ἐξ Ισραηλ. 52καὶ ἔστησεν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦ ἄγειν τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην μετὰ εὐφροσύνης. καὶ προσωχύρωσεν τὸ ὄρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἄκραν· καὶ ᾤκει ἐκεῖ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ. 53καὶ εἶδεν Σιμων τὸν Ιωαννην υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐστιν, καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον τῶν δυνάμεων πασῶν· καὶ ᾤκει ἐν Γαζαροις.

14 1Καὶ ἐν ἔτει δευτέρῳ καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ συνήγαγεν Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς Μηδίαν τοῦ ἐπισπάσασθαι βοήθειαν ἑαυτῷ, ὅπως πολεμήσῃ τὸν Τρύφωνα. 2καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἀρσάκης ὁ

51 *ετους ενος* S XIV
1 *ογδοηκοστω* 46

50. TERMS OF PEACE: Lit. "His right hands."

51. THE SECOND MONTH: Iyyar. ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIRST YEAR: 142 BCE. PALM BRANCHES: Symbols of victory; *cf.* II Mac. 10.7; John 12.13. A GREAT ENEMY: The Jews looked upon Akra as a symbol of their humiliation and suffering at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and its capture by Simon was considered a double victory—the triumph of Judaism over Hellenism, and the removal of the last vestige of dependence on Syria.

52. EVERY YEAR: This festival is mentioned in *Megillat Taanit:* "On the twenty-third thereof the people of Akra departed from Jerusalem." On this semi-festival see S. Zeitlin *Megillat Taanit* Ch. IX. MORE STRONGLY: According to Josephus (217) Simon razed the citadel.

53. HIS SON JOHN: Later known as John Hyrcanus. Here the original Book of the Hasmonaeans ends. It began with the narrative of the capture of Jerusalem and the defilement of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes. Then followed the account of the revolt of the Jews under leadership of the Hasmonaean family, and the final victory and declaration of independence. This achievement is ascribed to the heroism of the Jews under the Hasmonaeans, aided considerably by internal dissensions among the

were prevented from going out or coming into the country
to buy and sell. They were famished and many of them died
50 of hunger. 50They entreated Simon to make terms of peace
and he did so. He banished them and purified the citadel of its
pollutions. 51They entered it on the twenty-third day of the
second month, in the one hundred and seventy-first year, with
praise and palm branches, with harps and cymbals, stringed
instruments, hymns and songs, because Israel had been
ridden of a great enemy. 52He ordained that they observe
that day with joy every year. He fortified the Temple
Mount near the citadel more strongly. He and his men
dwelt there. 53Simon saw that his son John had reached man-
hood and made him general of all his troops. He dwelt in
Gazara.

14 In the one hundred and seventy-second year, King
Demetrius mustered his army and marched into Media to
persuade them to aid him make war against Tryphon.
2When Arsaces, king of Persia and Media, heard that

Syrian kings and their rivalries for the throne. Rome's recognition of Jonathan and subsequently of Simon as *de facto* rulers of Judaea gave the Jews prestige and lent them courage to continue fighting their adversaries. External forces contributed greatly to the establishment of the Second Commonwealth. Our author does not emphasize the intervention of Providence but does assert that God helped the Hasmonaeans in their righteous struggle.

Josephus does not follow I Maccabees beyond this chapter.

The following chapters, 14–16, give an account of Simon's alliance with the Romans, his war with Antiochus VII, and finally his death at the hands of his son-in-law. They contain the Great Synagogue's declaration of Simon as High Priest, which makes the office hereditary. These three chapters do not belong to the original Book of the Hasmonaeans (Maccabees) but are a part of another book. See further Introd. pp. 29–32.

1. ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SECOND YEAR: 142–1 BCE. WAR AGAINST TRYPHON: Justin (36) cites the revolt of the eastern peoples against the domination of the Parthians as an additional reason for Demetrius' coming to Media.

2. ARSACES: Founder of the Parthian Empire, where his name was assumed by all of his successors. *Cf.* Justin 41.5; Strabo 15.1, 36. The reference here is to Mithridates I, Arsaces VI.

βασιλεὺς τῆς Περσίδος καὶ Μηδίας ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν Δημήτριος
εἰς τὰ ὅρια αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἕνα τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτοῦ
συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ζῶντα. 3καὶ ἐπορεύθη καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὴν
παρεμβολὴν Δημητρίου καὶ συνέλαβεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἤγαγεν
αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀρσάκην, καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ.

4Καὶ ἡσύχασεν ἡ γῆ Ιουδα πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας Σιμωνος,
καὶ ἐζήτησεν ἀγαθὰ τῷ ἔθνει αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἤρεσεν αὐτοῖς ἡ
5 ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας. 5καὶ
μετὰ πάσης τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν τὴν Ιοππην εἰς λιμένα
καὶ ἐποίησεν εἴσοδον ταῖς νήσοις τῆς θαλάσσης. 6καὶ ἐπλά-
τυνεν τὰ ὅρια τῷ ἔθνει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκράτησεν τῆς χώρας.
7καὶ συνήγαγεν αἰχμαλωσίαν πολλὴν καὶ ἐκυρίευσεν Γαζαρων
καὶ Βαιθσουρων καὶ τῆς ἄκρας· καὶ ἐξῆρεν τὰς ἀκαθαρσίας
ἐξ αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἀντικείμενος αὐτῷ. 8καὶ ἦσαν γεωρ-
γοῦντες τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν μετ' εἰρήνης, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐδίδου τὰ
γενήματα αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ ξύλα τῶν πεδίων τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῶν.
9πρεσβύτεροι ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἐκάθηντο, πάντες περὶ
ἀγαθῶν ἐκοινολογοῦντο, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐνεδύσαντο δόξας
10 καὶ στολὰς πολέμου. 10ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐχορήγησεν βρώματα
καὶ ἔταξεν αὐτὰς ἐν σκεύεσιν ὀχυρώσεως, ἕως ὅτου ὠνομάσθη
τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἕως ἄκρου γῆς. 11ἐποίησεν εἰρήνην
ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ εὐφράνθη Ισραηλ εὐφροσύνην μεγάλην.
12καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἕκαστος ὑπὸ τὴν ἄμπελον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν συκῆν
αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς. 13καὶ ἐξέλιπεν πολεμῶν
αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς συνετρίβησαν ἐν ταῖς

5 νησοις] νοσοις S
7 εκυριευσεν] συνηγαγεν S
8 τα ξυλινα+αμα S
9 πλατειαις] εκκλησιαις S εκοινολογουν A
10 εταξαν εαυτους S
12 υπο την αμπελον] υποκατω αμπελου 19

3. PUT HIM UNDER GUARD: Justin relates that he was captured through deceit and was led from place to place and exhibited as a warning against defection. Afterwards he was treated kindly and later Mithridates gave him his sister Rhodogune to wife. *Cf.* Appian *Sy.* 67.

5. JOPPA . . . FOR A HARBOR: Modern Jaffa was always an important seaport. From its good harbor considerable trade was carried on with Alexandria. THE ISLES OF THE SEA: This may refer to Cyprus, Rhodes and Crete. Some MSS read "ships of the sea;" it is possible that the Hebrew had צִיֵּי הַיָּם, which the translator read אִיֵּי הַיָּם and rendered

Demetrius had invaded his territory, he sent one of his officers to take him alive. [3]He went and defeated the army of Demetrius, captured him, and brought him to Arsaces, and put him under guard.

[4]The land of Judah was at peace during the entire life of Simon. He sought the good of his nation, and his authority
5 and reputation pleased them as long as he lived. [5]Among his many glories was Joppa which he took for a harbor, and made it a place of entrance to the isles of the sea.

[6]He broadened the borders of his nation,
And ruled over the land.
[7]He gathered many captives,
And reigned over Gazara, Beth Zur and the citadel.
From it he took its uncleanness,
And none was there to oppose him.
[8]They tilled their land in peace,
The land yielded its increase,
And the trees of the plains their fruit.
[9]Old men sat in the streets,
All of them talking about the good times,
While youth donned the glory and apparel of war.
10 [10]He provided food for the cities,
And furnished them with means for defense,
Until his fame was proclaimed to the ends of the earth.
[11]He made peace in the land,
And Israel rejoiced exceedingly.
[12]Everyone sat under his own vine and fig tree,
With no one to make them afraid.
[13]No one was left in the land to fight them,
And the kings were destroyed, in those days.

"the isles of the sea." *Cf.* Grimm, *ad. loc.*

7. HE GATHERED MANY CAPTIVES: This may mean that Simon liberated many Jews who had been held captive, or perhaps that he collected many prisoners among the foreign nation. GAZARA: *Cf.* 13.43,49. BETH ZUR: *Cf.* 11.65–6. THE CITADEL: *Cf.* 13.49–51.

12. EVERYONE SAT . . . FIG TREE: *Cf.* I Kings 5.5; Micah 4.4.

ἡμέραις ἐκείναις. [14]καὶ ἐστήρισεν πάντας τοὺς ταπεινοὺς
τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ· τὸν νόμον ἐξεζήτησεν καὶ ἐξῆρεν πάντα
15 ἄνομον καὶ πονηρόν· [15]τὰ ἅγια ἐδόξασεν καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν τὰ
σκεύη τῶν ἁγίων.

[16]Καὶ ἠκούσθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὅτι ἀπέθανεν Ιωναθαν καὶ ἕως
Σπάρτης, καὶ ἐλυπήθησαν σφόδρα. [17]ὡς δὲ ἤκουσαν ὅτι
Σιμων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἀρχιερεὺς αντ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
αὐτὸς ἐπικρατεῖ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ,
[18]ἔγραψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν δέλτοις χαλκαῖς τοῦ ἀνανεώσασθαι
πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἣν ἔστησαν πρὸς Ιουδαν
καὶ Ιωναθαν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ. [19]καὶ ἀνεγνώσθησαν
20 ἐνώπιον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν Ιερουσαλημ. [20]καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀντίγ-
ραφον τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ὧν ἀπέστειλαν οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται

Σπαρτιατῶν ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ πόλις Σιμωνι ἱερεῖ μέγαλῳ
καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ δήμῳ
τῶν Ιουδαίων ἀδελφοῖς χαίρειν. [21]οἱ πρεσβευταὶ οἱ ἀποστα-
λέντες πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἡμῶν ἀπήγγειλαν ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς
δόξης ὑμῶν καὶ τιμῆς, καὶ ηὐφράνθημεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐφόδῳ αὐτῶν.
[22]καὶ ἀνεγράψαμεν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰρημένα ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς
τοῦ δήμου οὕτως Νουμήνιος Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀντίπατρος
Ἰάσονος πρεσβευταὶ Ιουδαίων ἦλθον πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνανεούμενοι
τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν. [23]καὶ ἤρεσεν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιδέξασθαι
τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐνδόξως καὶ τοῦ θέσθαι τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν
λόγων αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένοις τῷ δήμῳ βιβλίοις
τοῦ μνημόσυνον ἔχειν τὸν δῆμον τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. τὸ δὲ
ἀντίγραφον τούτων ἔγραψαν Σιμωνι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ.

[24]Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν Σιμων τὸν Νουμήνιον εἰς
Ῥώμην ἔχοντα ἀσπίδα χρυσῆν μεγάλην ὁλκὴν μνῶν χιλίων
εἰς τὸ στῆσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν συμμαχίαν.

---

18 και την συμμαχιαν A
21 πρεσβυτεροι S
23 επιδεξασθαι+τας φιλας και S του θεσθαι] καταθεσθαι 19 63
24 ολκες 23

---

14. THE LOWLY: *I. e.*, the pious one. *Cf.* LXX Isa. 14.32; Ps. 18.28.
18. THE ALLIANCE OF FRIENDSHIP: For the sequence of events see Introd.
20. THE RULERS: After 192 BCE the Ephors were the rulers of Sparta. On the letters of Sparta see Introd.
22. IN THE PUBLIC RECORDS: Lit. "Counsels of the people"—decisions

[14]He strengthened all the lowly of his people.
He sought out the Law,
And every lawless and wicked man he removed.
15 [15]He glorified the sanctuary,
And multiplied the vessels of the Temple.

[16]When people heard in Rome and as far as Sparta that Jonathan was dead, they mourned greatly. [17]But when they heard that Simon his brother had become High Priest in his place, and that he was ruling the country and the cities in it, [18]they wrote to him on tablets of brass to renew with him the alliance of friendship they had established with Judah and Jonathan his brothers. [19]They were read before the assembly
20 in Jerusalem. [20]Now this is the copy of the letter which the Spartans sent, "The rulers and the city of the Spartans to Simon, the High Priest, and to the elders, the priests and the rest of the Jewish people, our brothers, greetings! [21]The ambassadors who were sent to our people told us about your fame and honor, and we rejoiced at their coming. [22]We wrote down the things they said in the public records, as follows, 'Numenius, son of Antiochus, and Antipater, son of Jason, ambassadors of the Jews, have come to us to renew the pact of friendship with us. [23]The people were pleased to receive the men honorably and to place the copy of their words among the archives, so that the Spartan people may have a record. Moreover they wrote a copy of this to Simon the High Priest."

[24]After this Simon sent Numenius to Rome with a great gold shield a thousand minas in weight, to confirm the alliance with them.

---

which were recorded and preserved.

23. PEOPLE . . . RECORD: Lit. "In the books that are appointed for the people."

24. A THOUSAND MINAS IN WEIGHT: Doubtless an exaggeration. A Greek mina was a little more than 15 oz. in weight. The word "weight" is omitted in some MSS. Grimm *ad. loc.* rightly suggests that the meaning is the value of a thousand minas, approximately $14,000.

25 [25]Ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὁ δῆμος τῶν λόγων τούτων, εἶπαν Τίνα
χάριν ἀποδώσομεν Σιμωνι καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ; [26]ἐστήρισεν
γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπολέμησεν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς Ισραηλ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ
ἔστησαν αὐτῷ ἐλευθερίαν. καὶ κατέγραψαν ἐν δέλτοις
χαλκαῖς καὶ ἔθεντο ἐν στήλαις ἐν ὄρει Σιων. [27]καὶ τοῦτο τὸ
ἀντίγραφον τῆς γραφῆς

Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ Ελουλ ἔτους δευτέρου καὶ ἑβδομηκοστοῦ
καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ — καὶ τοῦτο τρίτον ἔτος ἐπὶ Σιμωνος ἀρχιε-
ρέως μεγάλου ἐν ασαραμελ — [28]ἐπὶ συναγωγῆς μεγάλης
ἱερέων καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἀρχόντων ἔθνους καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
τῆς χώρας ἐγνώρισεν ἡμῖν· [29]ἐπεὶ πολλάκις ἐγενήθησαν
πόλεμοι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, Σιμων δὲ υἱὸς Ματταθιου ἱερεὺς τῶν
υἱῶν Ιωαριβ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἔδωκαν αὐτοὺς τῷ κινδύνῳ
καὶ ἀντέστησαν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτῶν, ὅπως
σταθῇ τὰ ἅγια αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ νόμος, καὶ δόξῃ μεγάλῃ ἐδόξασαν
30 τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν. [30]καὶ ἤθροισεν Ιωναθαν τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν καὶ
ἐγενήθη αὐτοῖς ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τὸν λαὸν
αὐτοῦ, [31]καὶ ἐβουλήθησαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν ἐμβατεῦσαι εἰς
τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκτεῖναι χεῖρας ἐπὶ τὰ ἅγια αὐτῶν·
[32]τότε ἀντέστη Σιμων καὶ ἐπολέμησε περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἐδαπάνησεν χρήματα πολλὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὁπλο-
δότησεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὀψώνια [33]καὶ ὠχύρωσεν τὰς πόλεις τῆς Ιουδαίας
καὶ τὴν Βαιθσουραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Ιουδαίας, οὗ
ἦν τὰ ὅπλα τῶν πολεμίων τὸ πρότερον, καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ
φρουρὰν ἄνδρας Ιουδαίους. [34]καὶ Ιοππην ὠχύρωσεν τὴν
ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὴν Γαζαραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων

26 εχθρους] υιους A
27 ασαραμελ] εν σαραμηλ 44
29 ιερευς>A ο υιος των υιων S
31 αυτων+του εκτριφαι την χωραν αυτων A
34 ωκουν] ωκουσαν A

27. THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SECOND YEAR: August–September 141 BCE. THIS IS THE THIRD YEAR: Simon was appointed High Priest in 170. The month is not given, but it must have been in the summer of that year, *i. e.*, 143 BCE. Since the chronological years of the Jewish kings were counted from Nisan, the Spring of 142 BCE started the

25 [25]When the people heard this, they said, "How can we thank Simon and his sons? [26]He and his brothers and his father's house have been steadfast. They fought off the enemies of Israel from them, and assured its liberty."

They engraved this on brass tablets, and set it upon pillars on Mount Zion. [27]This is a copy of the inscription: "On the eighteenth day of Ellul, the one hundred and seventy-second year—this is the third year of the reign of Simon the High Priest, Prince of the people of Israel—[28]in a Great Synagogue of priests and people and leaders of the nation and elders of the country, the following was decided. [29]Often when wars have occurred in the country, Simon the son of Mattathias the priest, of the family of Joarib, and his brothers endangered their lives, and withstood their nation's adversaries, so that their sanctuary and the Law might be
30 upheld, thus bringing great glory to their nation. [30]Jonathan united their nation, and became their High Priest and was gathered to his people. [31]When their enemies planned to invade their country and to attack their sanctuary, [32]Simon stood up and fought for his nation, and spent much of his own money in arming his nation's army and giving them wages. [33]He fortified the cities of Judaea and Beth Zur on the borders of Judaea, where the arms of the enemy were formerly stored, and placed Jewish men there as a garrison. [34]He fortified Joppa on the sea coast, and Gazara on the borders of Ashdod,

---

second year and Nisan 141 was counted the third year. AND THE PRINCE OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL: The text has εν ασαραμελ. The translator thought the reference was to a place, and therefore inserted εν. See Introd. for detailed discussion. See also crit. note.

28. A GREAT SYNAGOGUE: Heb. *Keneseth Hagdolah*. AND ELDERS OF THE COUNTRY: This Great Synagogue comprised all groups among the Jewish people. The decision to bestow the high priesthood upon one who was not of high priestly family was completely revolutionary. It was made by the will of the people and not by the command of God.

34. GAZARA ON THE BORDERS OF ASHDOD: Gazara is seventy miles from Ashdod. Either this is an error or the author extended the border so far as to place Gazara upon it.

Ἀζώτου, ἐν ᾗ ᾠκουν οἱ πολέμιοι τὸ πρότερον, καὶ κατῴκισεν
ἐκεῖ Ιουδαίους, καὶ ὅσα ἐπιτήδεια ἦν πρὸς τῇ τούτων ἐπανορ-
35 θώσει, ἔθετο ἐν αὐτοῖς. [35]καὶ εἶδεν ὁ λαὸς τὴν πίστιν τοῦ
Σιμωνος καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ἣν ἐβουλεύσατο ποιῆσαι τῷ ἔθνει
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔθεντο αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρχιερέα διὰ
τὸ αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι πάντα ταῦτα καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην
καὶ τὴν πίστιν, ἣν συνετήρησεν τῷ ἔθνει αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξεζή-
τησεν παντὶ τρόπῳ ὑψῶσαι τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. [36]καὶ ἐν ταῖς
ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ εὐοδώθη ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐξαρθῆναι
τὰ ἔθνη ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Δαυιδ
τοὺς ἐν Ιερουσαλημ, οἳ ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς ἄκραν, ἐξ ἧς ἐξεπο-
ρεύοντο καὶ ἐμίαινον κύκλῳ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐποίουν πληγὴν
μεγάλην ἐν τῇ ἁγνείᾳ. [37]καὶ κατῴκισεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἄνδρας
Ιουδαίους καὶ ὠχύρωσεν αὐτὴν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῆς χώρας
καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὕψωσεν τὰ τείχη τῆς Ιερουσαλημ. [38]καὶ
ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος ἔστησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην κατὰ
ταῦτα [39]καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδόξασεν
40 αὐτὸν δόξῃ μεγάλῃ. [40]ἤκουσεν γὰρ ὅτι προσηγόρευνται οἱ
Ιουδαῖοι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι καὶ ἀδελφοί,
καὶ ὅτι ἀπήντησαν τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς Σιμωνος ἐνδόξως, [41]καὶ
ὅτι οἱ Ιουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς εὐδόκησαν τοῦ εἶναι αὐτῶν
Σιμωνα ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀρχιερέα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἕως τοῦ
ἀναστῆναι προφήτην πιστὸν [42]καὶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτῶν
στρατηγόν, καὶ ὅπως μέλῃ αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ἁγίων καθιστάναι
δι' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐπὶ
τῶν ὅπλων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων, [43]καὶ ὅπως μέλῃ
αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ὅπως ἀκούηται ὑπὸ πάντων, καὶ
ὅπως γράφωνται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι συγγραφαὶ
ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ ὅπως περιβάλληται πορφύραν καὶ χρυσο-
φορῇ· [44]καὶ οὐκ ἐξέσται οὐθενὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων
ἀθετῆσαί τι τούτων καὶ ἀντειπεῖν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ῥηθησο-

35 ειδεν ο λαος>S
36 Ιερουσαλημ+και αυτους εξαρθηναι 311
40 ηκουσθη S προσαγορευονται A
44 εμπεριβαλεσθαι 19+αυτον 58

36. A CITADEL FOR THEMSELVES: *Cf.* above 1.
38. THE HIGH PRIESTHOOD: *Cf.* above 13.36.
40. FRIENDS AND ALLIES: The recognition of the Romans, even merely

where the enemy formerly lived. He settled Jews there, and
whatever was necessary for their support he placed in them.
35 [35]When the people saw the trustworthiness of Simon and the
glory which he planned for his nation, they made him their
leader and High Priest, because he did all these things, and
because of the justice and faith he preserved for his people,
and because he sought in every manner to exalt his people.
[36]In his time everything prospered in his hands, so that the
heathen were expelled from their country, as well as those
in the city of David, in Jerusalem, who had made a citadel
for themselves, from which they used to go out and pollute
the environs of the sanctuary, doing great damage to its
purity. [37]He settled Jewish men in it and fortified it for the
safety of the country and the city, and heightened the walls
of Jerusalem. [38]King Demetrius confirmed him in the high
priesthood because of these things, [39]and made him one of
40 his Friends, treating him with great honor [40]because he had
heard that the Jews had been addressed by the Romans as
friends and allies and brothers, and that they had received
Simon's ambassadors with great honor, [41]and because the
Jews and the priests had agreed that Simon should be their
leader and High Priest for ever, until a true prophet should
arise, [42]decided also that he should be their general, so
that through him they might be assigned to their tasks,
whether over the country, the arms or the fortifications.
[43]They decided further that it was his responsibility to take
care of the sanctuary, that all should obey him, and that all
contracts in the country should be written in his name. It
was also decided that he should be clothed in purple and
wear gold. [44]The record went further in saying that it should
not be possible for any of the people or of the priests to set

---

de facto, contributed greatly to the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth.

41. HIGH PRIEST FOREVER: *I. e.*, the office was to be hereditary in his family. A TRUE PROPHET: On the expression "true prophet" see Introd. SHOULD ARISE: According to Jewish tradition, Haggai Zechariah and Malachi were the last prophets.

μένοις καὶ ἐπισυστρέψαι συστροφὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἄνευ αὐτοῦ καὶ περιβάλλεσθαι πορφύραν καὶ ἐμπορποῦσθαι πόρπην
45 χρυσῆν· 45ὃς δ' ἂν παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ ἢ ἀθετήσῃ τι τούτων, ἔνοχος ἔσται. 46καὶ εὐδόκησεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς θέσθαι Σιμωνι ποιῆσαι κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους. 47καὶ ἐπεδέξατο Σιμων καὶ εὐδόκησεν ἀρχιερατεύειν καὶ εἶναι στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν Ιουδαίων καὶ ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ προστατῆσαι πάντων. 48καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην εἶπον θέσθαι ἐν δέλτοις χαλκαῖς καὶ στῆσαι αὐτὰς ἐν περιβόλῳ τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τόπῳ ἐπισήμῳ, 49τὰ δὲ ἀντίγραφα αὐτῶν θέσθαι ἐν τῷ γαζοφυλακίῳ, ὅπως ἔχῃ Σιμων καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ.

15 1Καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Ἀντίοχος υἱὸς Δημητρίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστολὰς ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων τῆς θαλάσσης Σιμωνι ἱερεῖ καὶ ἐθνάρχῃ τῶν Ιουδαίων καὶ παντὶ τῷ ἔθνει, 2καὶ ἦσαν περιέχουσαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον

Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Σίμωνι ἱερεῖ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἐθνάρχῃ καὶ ἔθνει Ιουδαίων χαίρειν. 3ἐπεί τινες λοιμοὶ κατεκράτησαν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, βούλομαι δὲ ἀντιποιήσασθαι τῆς βασιλείας, ὅπως ἀποκαταστήσω αὐτὴν ὡς ἦν τὸ πρότερον, ἐξενολόγησα δὲ πλῆθος δυνάμεων καὶ κατεσκεύασα πλοῖα πολεμικά, 4βούλομαι δὲ ἐκβῆναι κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ὅπως μετέλθω τοὺς κατεφθαρκότας τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν καὶ
5 τοὺς ἠρημωκότας πόλεις πολλὰς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου, 5νῦν οὖν ἵστημί σοι πάντα τὰ ἀφέματα, ἃ ἀφῆκάν σοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δόματα ἀφῆκάν σοι. 6καὶ

XV
1 αρχιερει μεγαλω 55
3 επειδη A τινες ανδρες 58
5 αφαιρεματα A ‘
6 και επετρεψα σοι>A

45. On the entire manifesto and its importance see Introd. pp. 43–4.
47. GOVERNOR: The Greek has *Ethnarch*, a term of a later Roman date. See 13.42.
49. ARCHIVES: The text has "treasury." Apparently the Hebrew had בית האוצר which has the meaning of both storehouse and treasury. There was a chamber in the Temple where documents were stored.

1. ANTIOCHUS: Antiochus VII, surnamed Sidetes, from Side, a seaport of

any of these things at naught nor to countermand whatever
he should order, nor to convoke an assembly in the country
without his permission nor to don purple nor to wear gar-
45 ments fastened with a gold clasp. [45]Whoever shall act con-
trary to these things or set any of them at naught shall be
liable to punishment."

[46]All the people agreed to make it a law that they should
do all these things for Simon. [47]Simon accepted and con-
sented to serve as High Priest, to be general and governor
of the Jews and of the priests and to preside over all. [48]They
ordered that this decree be set upon brass tablets, that they
place them in a conspicuous place in the precinct of the
sanctuary, [49]and that copies of them be placed among the
archives, so that Simon and his sons might have them.

15 Antiochus, son of King Demetrius, sent a letter from the
islands of the sea to Simon, the High Priest and governor of
the Jews, and to the entire nation. [2]Its contents were as
follows, "King Antiochus to Simon, High Priest and governor,
and to the Jewish nation, greetings! [3]Inasmuch as certain
pestilent men have gained mastery over the kingdom of our
fathers, and I wish to lay claim to the kingdom, that I may
restore it to its former state, I have levied a large force of
mercenary troops and prepared ships of war. [4]I wish to land
in the country, to pursue those who have ruined our country
5 and have laid waste many cities in my kingdom. [5]I now,
therefore, confirm all the exemptions which the kings before
me have released to you, and whatever other gifts they have
remitted to you. [6]I turn over to you the right to make your

Pamphylia (see below v. 23) where he was brought up. Josephus calls him "the Pious." He was a younger brother of Demetrius II. THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA: Mediterranean. According to Appian (*Syr.* 68) Antiochus was in Rhodes when he learned that his brother was taken captive.

3. PESTILENT MEN: *I. e.*, rebels. See above. 10.61.

6. COINAGE: This privilege, tantamount to full sovereignty, was only a reaffirmation of that granted by Antiochus' brother Demetrius II. Judaea become an independent state in 170 AS, 133–143 BCE. Thereafter

ἐπέτρεψά σοι ποιῆσαι κόμμα ἴδιον, νόμισμα τῇ χώρᾳ σου,
7 Ἰερουσαλημ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἅγια εἶναι ἐλεύθερα· καὶ πάντα τὰ
ὅπλα, ὅσα κατεσκεύασας, καὶ τὰ ὀχυρώματα, ἃ ᾠκοδόμησας,
ὧν κρατεῖς, μενέτω σοι. 8 καὶ πᾶν ὀφείλημα βασιλικὸν καὶ
τὰ ἐσόμενα βασιλικὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον
ἀφιέσθω σοι· 9 ὡς δ' ἂν κρατήσωμεν τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν,
δοξάσομέν σε καὶ τὸ ἔθνος σου καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν δόξῃ μεγάλῃ
ὥστε φανερὰν γενέσθαι τὴν δόξαν ὑμῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ.
10 10 Ἔτους τετάρτου καὶ ἑβδομηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ ἐξῆλθεν
Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν γῆν τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνῆλθον
πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις ὥστε ὀλίγους εἶναι σὺν
Τρύφωνι. 11 καὶ ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχος, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς
Δωρα φεύγων τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης· 12 ᾔδει γὰρ ὅτι ἐπισυνῆκται
ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰ κακά, καὶ ἀφῆκαν αὐτὸν αἱ δυνάμεις. 13 καὶ
παρενέβαλεν Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ Δωρα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δώδεκα
μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν πολεμιστῶν καὶ ὀκτακισχιλία ἵππος. 14 καὶ
ἐκύκλωσεν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης συνῆψαν,
καὶ ἔθλιβε τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ
οὐκ εἴασεν οὐδένα ἐκπορεύεσθαι οὐδὲ εἰσπορεύεσθαι.
15 15 Καὶ ἦλθεν Νουμήνιος καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ Ῥώμης
ἔχοντες ἐπιστολὰς τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν καὶ ταῖς χώραις, ἐν
αἷς ἐγέγραπτο τάδε

16 Λεύκιος ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων Πτολεμαίῳ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν.
17 οἱ πρεσβευταὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦλθον πρὸς ἡμᾶς φίλοι ἡμῶν
καὶ σύμμαχοι ἀνανεούμενοι τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς φιλίαν καὶ συμ-
μαχίαν ἀπεσταλμένοι ἀπὸ Σιμωνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τοῦ
δήμου τῶν Ἰουδαίων, 18 ἤνεγκαν δὲ ἀσπίδα χρυσῆν ἀπὸ
μνῶν χιλίων. 19 ἤρεσεν οὖν ἡμῖν γράψαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν
καὶ ταῖς χώραις ὅπως μὴ ἐκζητήσωσιν αὐτοῖς κακὰ καὶ

9 καταστησωμεν την βασιλειαν 64 — 19 την χωραν] τας χωρας A προς>19
18 πεντακισχιλιων A 55

Jews dated their documents from the royal years of the High Priest Simon, and no longer from those of the Syrian Kings. See above 13.41–42. On the Jewish coinage see Madden, *Coins of the Jews;* Schürer, *Geschichte.* 1; Romanoff, *Jewish symbols on ancient coins,* Philadelphia, 1944.

8. BE REMITTED TO YOU: Again a reaffirmation of the privileges granted by his brother Demetrius II; *cf.* 11.34–36. Perhaps this remission included

own stamp for coinage for your country. [7]Jerusalem and the sanctuary shall be free. All the arms you have prepared, and the fortifications you have constructed, which you hold, let them remain yours. [8]Every debt owing to the king, and all future debts to him, from now on and for all time to come, let them be remitted to you. [9]Moreover when we gain possession of our kingdom, we will greatly exalt you, your nation and the Temple, so that your glory may be manifest throughout the world."

10 [10]In the one hundred and seventy-fourth year, Antiochus invaded the land of his fathers. All the troops came over to him, only a small number remaining with Tryphon. [11]Antiochus pursued him, and in his flight he came to Dor by the sea. [12]He knew that troubles had accumulated against him and the troops had deserted him. [13]Antiochus encamped against Dor, with a hundred and twenty thousand trained soldiers and eight thousand horse. [14]He surrounded the city, while ships joined in the attack from the sea. He pressed the city hard, by land and by sea, and permitted no one to leave or to enter.

15 [15]In the meanwhile Numenius and his companions returned from Rome with letters to the kings and to the countries, in which the following was written: [16]"Lucius, consul of the Romans, to King Ptolemy, greetings! [17]The ambassadors of the Jews sent by Simon the High Priest and the Jewish people, have come to us as our friends and allies, to renew the old alliance of friendship. [18]They have brought a gold shield of a thousand minas in weight. [19]We have decided, therefore, to write to the kings and to the countries, not to do any

all the Jews' indebtedness.

10. THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FOURTH YEAR: 140-39 BCE.

11. DOR: An ancient Phoenician town on the Mediterranean; *cf.* Josh. XI. 2; Judg. 1.27; I Ki. 4.11. It is situated about nine miles north of Caesarea, modern Tantura.

16. LUCIUS: On this document see Introd. p. 41. TO KING PTOLEMY: Ptolemy VII Physcon, who first ruled jointly with his brother Ptolemy VI Philometor 170–163 BCE and later continued as sole ruler until 116 BCE.

18. A THOUSAND MINAS IN WEIGHT: *Cf.* above 14.24; see also Introd. p. 41.

μὴ πολεμήσωσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ ἵνα μὴ συμμαχῶσιν τοῖς πολεμοῦσιν
20 πρὸς αὐτούς. [20]ἔδοξεν δὲ ἡμῖν δέξασθαι τὴν ἀσπίδα παρ' αὐτῶν. [21]εἴ τινες οὖν λοιμοὶ διαπεφεύγασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, παράδοτε αὐτοὺς Σιμωνι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ὅπως ἐκδικήσῃ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸν νόμον αὐτῶν.

[22]Καὶ ταὐτὰ ἔγραψεν Δημητρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἀττάλῳ καὶ Ἀριαράθῃ καὶ Ἀρσάκῃ [23]καὶ εἰς πάσας τὰς χώρας καὶ Σαμψάμῃ καὶ Σπαρτιάταις καὶ εἰς Δῆλον καὶ εἰς Μύνδον καὶ εἰς Σικυῶνα καὶ εἰς τὴν Καρίαν καὶ εἰς Σάμον καὶ εἰς τὴν Παμφυλίαν καὶ εἰς Λυκίαν καὶ εἰς Ἁλικαρνασσὸν καὶ εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ εἰς Φασηλίδα καὶ εἰς Κῶ καὶ εἰς Σίδην καὶ εἰς Ἄραδον καὶ Γόρτυναν καὶ Κνίδον καὶ Κύπρον καὶ Κυρήνην.
[24]τὸ δὲ ἀντίγραφον τούτων ἔγραψαν Σιμωνι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ.
25 [25]Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρενέβαλεν ἐπὶ Δωρα ἐν τῇ

---

21 εκ>S
23 σαμφακη A σαμσαμη 62 σαμασακη 19 συκιωνα A καριδα A τηκιαν S κυρηνην
σμυρνην 23
24 τουτων] αυτων A εγραψεν A
25 δευτερα+ημερα S παντων αυτη S

---

21. PESTILENT MEN: Rebels; the Jews who opposed the Hasmoneans were no longer called lawless men, sinners, but pestilent men, rebels against the state and the Roman Senate instructed all their allies to extradite to Judaea those who sought refuge in their territory. *Cf.* Introd. p. 42.
22. DEMETRIUS: The Romans addressed this letter to the government of Demetrius although Demetrius himself was in captivity in Persia. They did not recognize his brother Antiochus as king of Syria. ATTALUS: Son of Attalus I, who reigned in Pergamum from 159–138 BCE; *cf.* Strabo 13.2. ARIARATHES: Philopator V, King of Cappadocia, 162–130 BCE. ARSACES: King of Parthia; see above 14.2. Arsaces was not a vassal of Rome, but possibly the Romans addressed him as a friendly ruler.
23. SAMPSAMES: This city cannot be identified with certainty. One MS has Samsame, another Sampsake, while still another has Mesanisse. Grimm (*op. cit*) is of the opinion that it is the modern Samsun on the Black Sea, between Sinope and Trebizond. *Cf.* Oesterley *ad. loc.* in Charles' edition. SPARTANS: Sparta was then a free city. DELOS: A small island in the Cyclades, famous as the birthplace of Apollo. The city was razed to the ground by the Romans in the year 46 BCE. *Cf.* Strabo 10.5, 2–4. MYNDOS: A town of Caria not far from Halicarnassus. *Cf. Idem.* 13.58. SICYON: On the north coast of the Peloponnesus northwest of Corinth and a member of the Achaean League. CARIA: A country on the southwest coast of Asia Minor. It was considered a part of the Cis-Halys

harm to them, nor to make war on them nor their cities nor
their country, nor to make an alliance with those who fight
20 against them. [20]We have decided to accept the shield from
them. [21]If, therefore, any of these pestilent men flee from
their country to you, hand them over to Simon the High
Priest, so that he may punish them in accordance with their
Law."

[22]He wrote the same message to King Demetrius, to Attalus, to Ariarathes, to Arsaces, [23]and to all the countries, to Sampsames, to the Spartans, to Delos, to Myndos, to Sicyon, to Caria, to Samos, to Pamphylia, to Lycia, Halicarnassus, Rhodes, Phaselis, Cos, Side, Aradus, Gortyna, Cnidus, Cyprus and Cyrene. [24]They also wrote a copy of this to Simon the High Priest.

25 [25]King Antiochus launched another attack against Dor,

---

country. *Cf. Idem.* 2.31. SAMOS: An island in the Ionian Sea NW of Caria, Strabo 2.21. For a full description of this island *cf. Idem.* 14–15. PAMPHYLIA: A country in Asia Minor between Lycia and Cilicia. LYCIA: SE of Caria, It is bordered on the west by Pamphylia and on the south by the Mediterranean Sea, and is 4000 stadia from Alexandria. HALICARNASSUS: Where the royal dynasties of Caria had their residence. RHODES: Twenty miles south of the Carian Coast. It was famous in ancient times because of the statue of Apollo. In modern days it has become noted because it is the seat of the Commissions of Palestine and for negotiations between Israel and Egypt. PHASELIS: An important maritime city of Lycia on the boundary line of Pamphylia. *Cf.* also Strabo 14.9. COS: One of the Cyclades. It is north of Rhodes about 15 miles from Halicarnassus and 250 stadia from Cape Samonium in Crete. *Cf.* Strabo 10.18. SIDE: A maritime city of Pamphylia. ARADUS: An island on the coast of Phoenicia almost at the mouth of the River Eleutherus. *Cf.* above 11.7. GORTYNA: One of the three important cities on the island of Crete. *Cf.* Strabo 10.7. CNIDUS: Southeast of Cos and north of Rhodes. For a full description of this island city, *cf.* Strabo 14.5. CYPRUS: A well known island in the Mediterranean NW of Syria. CYRENE: The capital of Libya.

The communities listed were not yet subjugated by Rome, nor were they under the domination of Syria. The letters written to them by the Roman Senate were in quest of friendship. The cities named in our book are given at random and not in geographical order. The author of the addendum apparently had no knowledge of geography.

25. ANOTHER: The Greek text has "on the second day."

δευτέρᾳ προσάγων διὰ παντὸς αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ μηχανὰς
ποιούμενος καὶ συνέκλεισεν τὸν Τρύφωνα τοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι
καὶ εἰσπορεύεσθαι. [26]καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ Σιμων δισχιλίους
ἄνδρας ἐκλεκτοὺς συμμαχῆσαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ
χρυσίον καὶ σκεύη ἱκανά. [27]καὶ οὐκ ἠβούλετο αὐτὰ δέξασθαι,
ἀλλὰ ἠθέτησεν πάντα, ὅσα συνέθετο αὐτῷ τὸ πρότερον,
καὶ ἠλλοτριοῦτο αὐτῷ. [28]καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀθη-
νόβιον ἕνα τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ κοινολογησόμενον αὐτῷ λέγων
Ὑμεῖς κατακρατεῖτε τῆς Ιοππης καὶ Γαζαρων καὶ τῆς
ἄκρας τῆς ἐν Ιερουσαλημ, πόλεις τῆς βασιλείας μου. [29]τὰ
ὅρια αὐτῶν ἠρημώσατε καὶ ἐποιήσατε πληγὴν μεγάλην ἐπὶ
τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκυριεύσατε τόπων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου.
30 [30]νῦν οὖν παράδοτε τὰς πόλεις, ἃς κατελάβεσθε, καὶ τοὺς
φόρους τῶν τόπων, ὧν κατεκυριεύσατε ἐκτὸς τῶν ὁρίων τῆς
Ιουδαίας. [31]εἰ δὲ μή, δότε ἀντ' αὐτῶν πεντακόσια τάλαντα
ἀργυρίου καὶ τῆς καταφθορᾶς, ἧς κατεφθάρκατε, καὶ τῶν
φόρων τῶν πόλεων ἄλλα τάλαντα πεντακόσια· εἰ δὲ μή,
παραγενόμενοι ἐκπολεμήσομεν ὑμᾶς. [32]καὶ ἦλθεν Ἀθηνόβιος
ὁ φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Ιερουσαλημ καὶ εἶδεν τὴν δόξαν
Σιμωνος καὶ κυλικεῖον μετὰ χρυσωμάτων καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων
καὶ παράστασιν ἱκανὴν καὶ ἐξίστατο καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῷ
τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βασιλέως. [33]καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς Σιμων εἶπεν
αὐτῷ Οὔτε γῆν ἀλλοτρίαν εἰλήφαμεν οὔτε ἀλλοτρίων κεκρα-
τήκαμεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς κληρονομίας τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὑπὸ
δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν ἀκρίτως ἔν τινι καιρῷ κατεκρατήθη· [34]ἡμεῖς
δὲ καιρὸν ἔχοντες ἀντεχόμεθα τῆς κληρονομίας τῶν πατέρων
35 ἡμῶν. [35]περὶ δὲ Ιοππης καὶ Γαζαρων, ὧν αἰτεῖς, αὗται
ἐποίουν ἐν τῷ λαῷ πληγὴν μεγάλην καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν,
τούτων δώσομεν τάλαντα ἑκατόν. [36]καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ
λόγον, ἀπέστρεψεν δὲ μετὰ θυμοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ

28 λογηθισομενον 55' ορίων των εκτος A
29 τοπων>S 31 εκπολεμησουσιν A
30 κατελαβεσθε] παρελαβετε S των 32 κυλινιον μεγα 58 εξισταντο 62

27. WOULD NOT ACCEPT THEM: It appears from Josephus (13.24) that Antiochus accepted the gifts from Simon.

30. OUTSIDE THE BORDERS OF JUDAEA: Perhaps in reference to the three provinces which Demetrius II annexed to Judaea; *cf.* above 11.34.

repeatedly hurling his forces against it and constructing siege engines. He blockaded Tryphon so that he could neither come out nor go in. [26]Simon sent him two thousand picked men to fight for him, with silver and gold and enough equipment. [27]He, however, would not accept them, but disregarded all former agreements, and became estranged from him. [28]He sent Athenobius, one of his Friends, to him to deal with him, saying, "You have in your possession Joppa and Gazara and the citadel in Jerusalem, cities of my kingdom. [29]You have laid waste their borders, and played great havoc in the land. You have taken possession of many places in my
30 kingdom. [30]Now, then, hand over these cities which you have taken, and the tribute of the places outside the borders of Judaea which you have appropriated. [31]If you refuse, then give me instead five hundred talents of silver; for the damage which you have done and for the tribute of the cities, another five hundred talents. Unless you do this, we will come and make war on you."

[32]When Athenobius, the Friend of the king, came to Jerusalem, and saw the magnificence of Simon, and a cabinet for drinking vessels with gold and silver plate and befitting display, he was amazed, and reported to him the words of the king. [33]Simon replied, "We have neither taken any other man's land, nor do we hold dominion over other people's territory, but only over the inheritance of our fathers. On the contrary, for a certain time it was unjustly held by our enemies; [34]but we, seizing the opportunity, hold fast the inherit-
35 ance of our fathers. [35]Now, for Joppa and Gazara, which you demand, although they have done great damage to our people and to our land, we will give one hundred talents for them."

[36]He did not answer a word, but returned in a rage to the king. He reported these words to him, and also told about the

---

33. IT WAS UNJUSTLY HELD BY OUR ENEMIES: Simon declared that Judaea always belonged to the Jews, and that though foreign rulers conquered the country the Jews never relinquished their rights. Hence Simon denied the demands for compensation since the loss belonged to the Jews.

ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῷ τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ τὴν δόξαν Σιμωνος καὶ πάντα, ὅσα εἶδεν, καὶ ὠργίσθη ὁ βασιλεὺς ὀργὴν μεγάλην.
37 Τρύφων δὲ ἐμβὰς εἰς πλοῖον ἔφυγεν εἰς Ὀρθωσίαν.
38 καὶ κατέστησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Κενδεβαῖον ἐπιστράτηγον τῆς παραλίας καὶ δυνάμεις πεζικὰς καὶ ἱππικὰς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ· 39 καὶ ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ παρεμβάλλειν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς Ιουδαίας καὶ ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν Κεδρων καὶ ὀχυρῶσαι τὰς πύλας καὶ ὅπως πολεμῇ τὸν λαόν· ὁ δὲ
40 βασιλεὺς ἐδίωκε τὸν Τρύφωνα. 40 καὶ παρεγενήθη Κενδεβαῖος εἰς Ιάμνειαν καὶ ἤρξατο τοῦ ἐρεθίζειν τὸν λαὸν καὶ ἐμβατεύειν εἰς τὴν Ιουδαίαν καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζειν τὸν λαὸν καὶ φονεύειν. 41 καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν τὴν Κεδρων καὶ ἀπέταξεν ἐκεῖ ἱππεῖς καὶ δυνάμεις, ὅπως ἐκπορευόμενοι ἐξοδεύωσιν τὰς ὁδοὺς τῆς Ιουδαίας, καθὰ συνέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεύς.

16 1 Καὶ ἀνέβη Ιωαννης ἐκ Γαζαρων καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν Σιμωνι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἃ συνετέλεσεν Κενδεβαῖος. 2 καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Σιμων τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους Ιουδαν καὶ Ιωαννην καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ πατρός μου ἐπολεμήσαμεν τοὺς πολέμους Ισραηλ ἀπὸ νεότητος ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας, καὶ εὐοδώθη ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἡμῶν ῥύσασθαι τὸν Ισραηλ πλεονάκις· 3 νυνὶ δὲ γεγήρακα, καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐλέει ἱκανοί ἐστε ἐν τοῖς ἔτεσιν· γίνεσθε ἀντ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου καὶ ἐξελθόντες ὑπερμαχεῖτε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν, ἡ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βοήθεια ἔστω μεθ' ὑμῶν. 4 καὶ ἐπέλεξεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας εἴκοσι

39 οχυρωσαι] οικοδομησαι S πυλας] πολεις A
40 εμβατευειν] εκβασσευειν S
41 εταξεν A εξοδευσουσιν S 93

XVI

1 συνετελει A

2 εκ νεοτητος ημων και 71
3 αδελφου] *Fratres mei* V υπερμαχειτε>S
4 εξελεξεν+ιωαννης (311) εκ της χωρας>71

37. ORTHOSIA: A few miles north of Tripolis. Tryphon first fled to Orthosia and later escaped to Apamea where he was captured and put to death: Josephus 13.224.

38. APPOINTED CENDEBAEUS: According to Schürer *op. cit.* 1.255, the name is derived from the city of Kanduba in Lycia.

magnificence of Simon and all that he had seen. The king was very angry.

37But Tryphon, embarking on a ship, fled to Orthosia.
38The king appointed Cendebaeus chief commander over the littoral, and gave him infantry and cavalry. 39He ordered him to encamp before Judaea and also ordered him to build up Kedron, to fortify the gates, and fight against the people;
40 but the king pursued Tryphon. 40Cendebaeus came to Jamnia, and began to provoke the people by making incursions into Judaea, taking the people captive, and slaying them.
41He built up Kedron, and stationed there cavalry and troops, so that they could go out and conduct raids on the roads of Judaea, as the king had ordered.

16 John went up from Gazara, and told his father Simon what Cendebaeus had done. 2Simon summoned his two eldest sons, Judah and John, and said to them, "I and my brothers and my father's house have fought the battles of Israel from our youth even to this very day. We have succeeded in saving Israel many times. 3Now I am old, while you in turn are, by His mercy, old enough. You must take my place and the place of my brethren. Go forth and fight for our nation, and may the help of Heaven be with you."

4He selected from the country twenty thousand men

---

39. KEDRON: Usually identified with the city of Gedereth (*cf.* Josh. 15.41). It is SW of Ekron, modern Katra. *Cf.* also Abell *RB.* 1926, pp. 526–28.

1. WENT UP FROM GAZARA: To Jerusalem.
2. JUDAH AND JOHN: Simon had a third son named Mattathias. See below, v. 14.
3. BY HIS MERCY: Again avoiding the use of the name of God. MY BRETHREN: Our text has "my brother," V and X "my brethren." *Cf.* critical note. AND MAY HELP FROM HEAVEN BE WITH YOU: According to Josephus (227) Simon also led an army.
4. CAVALRY: Cavalry is here mentioned for the first time as a part of the Jewish army. This indicates that Simon had a very well organized army which included a cavalry battalion.

χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν πολεμιστῶν καὶ ἱππεῖς, καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν
5 ἐπὶ τὸν Κενδεβαῖον καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν Μωδεΐν. 5καὶ ἀναστάντες τὸ πρωὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ ἰδοὺ δύναμις πολλὴ εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῖς, πεζικὴ καὶ ἱππεῖς, καὶ χειμάρρους ἦν ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτῶν. 6καὶ παρενέβαλε κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶδεν τὸν λαὸν δειλούμενον διαπερᾶσαι τὸν χειμάρρουν καὶ διεπέρασεν πρῶτος· καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ διεπέρασαν κατόπισθεν αὐτοῦ. 7καὶ διεῖλεν τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πεζῶν· ἦν δὲ ἵππος τῶν ὑπεναντίων πολλὴ σφόδρα. 8καὶ ἐσάλπισαν ταῖς σάλπιγξιν, καὶ ἐτροπώθη Κενδεβαῖος καὶ ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔπεσον ἐξ αὐτῶν τραυματίαι πολλοί· οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες ἔφυγον εἰς τὸ ὀχύρωμα. 9τότε ἐτραυματίσθη Ιουδας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ιωαννου· Ιωαννης δὲ κατεδίωξεν αὐτούς,
10 ἕως ἦλθεν εἰς Κεδρων, ἣν ᾠκοδόμησεν. 10καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τοὺς πύργους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς Ἀζώτου, καὶ ἐνεπύρισεν αὐτὴν ἐν πυρί, καὶ ἔπεσον ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς ἄνδρας δισχιλίους. καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ιουδαίαν μετὰ εἰρήνης.

11Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ Ἀβούβου ἦν καθεσταμένος στρατηγὸς εἰς τὸ πεδίον Ιεριχω καὶ ἔσχεν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον πολύ· 12ἦν γὰρ γαμβρὸς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. 13καὶ ὑψώθη ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐβουλήθη κατακρατῆσαι τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐβουλεύετο δόλῳ κατὰ Σιμωνος καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἆραι αὐτούς. 14Σιμων δὲ ἦν ἐφοδεύων τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ

---

5 *επορευοντο* A
8 [*ιεραις*] *σαλπιγξι* 55 *sacris tubis* V
ετροπωθη σανδαιβεος S
9 *ηλθεν εις*>107 *ελθειν εις* A 62 311
10 *τω αργω* A *αυτην*] *eas igni* V
τρισχιλιους 311
13 *και*+*κατα* A

---

6. HE: John. HIS ARMY: Lit. "his people." *Cf.* LXX Jos. 10.5.
7. THE ARMY: Lit. "the people." WITH THE CAVALRY IN THE MIDST: Perhaps John feared that his unseasoned cavalry might not be a match for the strong, well disciplined cavalry of his enemy and hence placed them in the center to be protected by the infantry.
8. WERE SLAIN: Lit. "wounded." STRONGHOLD: Kedron.
9. WHICH HE: Cendebaeus.
10. THEY FLED: *I. e.*, Those who failed to reach Kedron. BURNED THEM DOWN: The towers. The text has "burned it." See critical note. The city of Ashdod itself had been burned by Jonathan ten years pre-

trained for battle and cavalry, and they marched out against
5 Cendebaeus. They spent the night at Modin. [5]Rising up in
the morning, they proceeded into the plain, where there
was a great army to meet them, both infantry and cavalry,
and a mountain brook was between them. [6]He and his army
encamped opposite them. He saw that his men were afraid
to cross the brook, so he crossed over first. When the men
saw him, they too crossed over after him. [7]He divided the
army, with the cavalry in the midst of the foot-soldiers,
because the cavalry of the enemy was very great. [8]They
sounded the trumpets. Cendebaeus and his army were put to
flight, and many of them were slain. Those who were left
fled to the stronghold. [9]Then it was that Judah the brother
of John was wounded; but John pursued them, until he came
10 to Kedron, which he had built. [10]They fled to the towers in
the fields of Ashdod, and he burned them down. About two
thousand of their men were slain. He then returned to
Judaea in peace.

[11]Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, had been appointed general
over the plain of Jericho. He possessed much silver and gold,
[12]for he was the son-in-law of the High Priest. [13]His heart was
ambitious, and he wanted to make himself master of the
country. He plotted deceitfully against Simon and his sons,
so that he might put an end to them. [14]Now Simon was
making the rounds of the cities in the country, and was pro-

---

viously. *Cf.* 10.84. TWO THOUSAND MEN: Some MSS read 'three thousand.'

11. THE SON OF ABUBUS: *Cf.* H. Ettelson, The *Integrity of I Maccabees* 1925. THE PLAIN OF JERICHO: *Cf.* Josh. 5.10. A fertile region of which Josephus (*Wars of the Jews* 4.468–475) said that it might well be called divine. It also had strategic importance as it commanded the fords of the Jordan.

12. FOR HE WAS THE SON-IN-LAW OF THE HIGH PRIEST: This explains why he was governor of the Plain of Jericho and also accounts for his great wealth.

13. HIS HEART WAS AMBITIOUS: Lit. his heart was uplifted. See above 1.3.

14. ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SEVENTH YEAR: 137–36 BCE. SHEBAT: *I. e.*, February–March, 136 BCE.

καὶ φροντίζων τῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτῶν· καὶ κατέβη εἰς Ιεριχω
αὐτὸς καὶ Ματταθιας καὶ Ιουδας οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἑβδόμου
καὶ ἑβδομηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ ἐν μηνὶ ἑνδεκάτῳ (οὗτος
15 ὁ μὴν Σαβατ). [15]καὶ ὑπεδέξατο αὐτοὺς ὁ τοῦ Ἀβούβου εἰς
τὸ ὀχυρωμάτιον τὸ καλούμενον Δωκ μετὰ δόλου, ὃ ᾠκοδό-
μησεν, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς πότον μέγαν καὶ ἐνέκρυψεν
ἐκεῖ ἄνδρας. [16]καὶ ὅτε ἐμεθύσθη Σιμων καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ,
ἐξανέστη Πτολεμαῖος καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ
ὅπλα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεισῆλθον τῷ Σιμωνι εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον καὶ
ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ καί τινας τῶν
παιδαρίων αὐτοῦ. [17]καὶ ἐποίησεν ἀθεσίαν μεγάλην καὶ
ἀπέδωκεν κακὰ ἀντὶ ἀγαθῶν. [18]καὶ ἔγραψεν ταῦτα Πτολε-
μαῖος καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅπως ἀποστείλῃ αὐτῷ
δυνάμεις εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ παραδῷ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ
τὰς πόλεις. [19]καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἑτέρους εἰς Γαζαρα ἆραι τὸν
Ιωαννην, καὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις ἀπέστειλεν ἐπιστολὰς παρα-
γενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅπως δῷ αὐτοῖς ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον
20 καὶ δόματα, [20]καὶ ἑτέρους ἀπέστειλεν καταλαβέσθαι τὴν
Ιερουσαλημ καὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ. [21]καὶ προδραμών τις
ἀπήγγειλεν Ιωαννη εἰς Γαζαρα ὅτι ἀπώλετο ὁ πατὴρ
αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι Ἀπέσταλκεν καὶ σὲ
ἀποκτεῖναι. [22]καὶ ἀκούσας ἐξέστη σφόδρα καὶ συνέλαβεν
τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἀπολέσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν
αὐτούς· ἐπέγνω γὰρ ὅτι ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι.

[23]Καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ιωαννου καὶ τῶν πολέμων
αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀνδραγαθιῶν αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἠνδραγάθησεν, καὶ
τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τῶν τειχῶν, ὧν ᾠκοδόμησεν, καὶ τῶν πράξεων
αὐτοῦ, [24]ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γέγραπται ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ ἡμερῶν ἀρχιερω-
σύνης αὐτοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ ἐγενήθη ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ τὸν πατέρα
αὐτοῦ.

---

16 ελαβοσαν A επεισηλθοσαν A
17 αθεσιαν] αθειαν A 46 106 απεδωκεν] ανταπεδωκε A
18 την χωραν αυτων και τας πολεις] τας πολεις — χωραν S αυτω την χ. — και . . . L τας πολεις αυτων και τους φορους La (τας φορας).
19 χρυσιον και αργυριον 107 Sy και δοματα > 107
22 εζητουν] εζητουσαν A

---

15. THE SON OF ABUBUS: To call him so without mentioning his own name, Ptolemy, is a mark of contempt. *Cf.* I Sam. 22.7. DOK: Josephus

viding for their needs. He went down to Jericho, with
Mattathias and Judah, his sons, in the one hundred and
seventy-seventh year, in the eleventh month; that is the
15 month Shebat. [15]The son of Abubus deceitfully received them
in the little stronghold called Dok, which he had built. There
he held a great banquet for them, and concealed men there.

[16]When Simon and his sons had drunk freely, Ptolemy and
his men arose and took their weapons. Rushing in against
Simon in the banquet hall they slew him and his two sons
and some of his servants. [17]Thus he committed an act of
great treachery, and returned evil for good. [18]Ptolemy wrote
about this and sent it off to the king, asking him to send
troops to help him, and would deliver him the country and
the cities. [19]He sent others to Gazara to do away with John.
He sent letters to the chiliarchs inviting them to visit him,
20 so that he might give them silver and gold and gifts. [20]He
sent other men to take over Jerusalem and the Temple
Mount. [21]A man ran ahead to Gazara, however, and told
John that his father and his brothers were slain, saying, "He
has sent men to kill you also."

[22]When John heard this, he was greatly amazed, and ar-
rested the men who had come to murder him and killed them,
because he had learned that they were seeking to slay him.

[23]The rest of the events of John, and his wars and his
exploits which he performed, and the building of the walls
which he constructed, and his deeds, [24]are written in the
chronicles of his high priesthood, from the time when he
became High Priest after his father.

---

(230) has Dagan, probably a corruption of Dok. The name is still preserved Ain Duk, 3–4 miles NW of Jericho.

16. DRUNK FREELY: *I. e.*, became intoxicated. HIS TWO SONS: Judah and Mattathias.

17. ACT OF GREAT TREACHERY: Lit. "faithlessness." *Cf.* critical note.

18. HIM: Ptolemy wrote to King Antiochus that he would again place the entire country under the domination of Syria. THE CITIES: Some MSS have 'and tributes'; *cf.* critical note.

19. CHILIARCHS: "Captains of the thousands"; Heb.

23. THE REST OF THE EVENTS: Lit., "the rest of the words."

24. WRITTEN IN THE CHRONICLES: Lit., "In the Book of Days"; Heb.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

The Title

The title of the Book of Maccabees is derived from the surname of the third son of Mattathias, Judah Maccabee, who figures largely in it. The title, however, is not altogether appropriate, and there is reason to think that it may have supplanted, for reasons which we may divine, an earlier and different title. Though a great part of the book is indeed devoted to Judah, yet his father Mattathias and his brothers Jonathan and Simon, who were equally responsible for the independence of Judaea, also form an important part of the theme of the book. I Maccabees, unlike II Maccabees, esteems the whole family and not Judah alone.

While the Church Fathers never refer to the book by any other title than "Maccabees," the name Maccabee nowhere appears in rabbinical literature, Mattathias being referred to as a member of the House of the Hasmonaeans. Even in speaking of the dedication of the Temple, the rabbis say that it was brought about by the Hasmonaean family.[1] Similarly in his *Jewish Antiquities*[2] Josephus traces the descent of Mattathias to Johannes, the son of Simon, the son of Asamonaios (Hasmonaeus). The little book of Josippon, furthermore, written in Palestine some time in the fourth century,[3] refers to the family as the House of the Hasmonaeans.

What is the origin of the name "Hasmonaeans" which the rabbis use? They did not derive it from Josephus' writings, for they did not read Greek. We must assume that the Tannaim were familiar with the original Hebrew chronicle of which our I Maccabees is a version, and if the name Maccabee had appeared in the original it is strange that they should have ignored it. The suggestion that the rabbis avoided the name out of hostility to the Hasmonaean dynasty, particularly to Alexander Jannaeus,[4] is without basis. In the first place, the rabbis always spoke of Mattathias and the House of the Hasmonaeans in the most glowing terms.[5] In the second place, Alexander Jannaeus was not a descendant of Judah; he was the son of Simon, who was son of Mattathias and brother of Judah.

[1] Tal. Shab. 21 b; Meg. 11 a; Pesikta Rab. ch. 2; Sof. 20.8.
[2] 12.6, 1 (265).
[3] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *Josephus on Jesus*, pp. 53–6.
[4] *Cf.* Kahana, the Hebrew Ed. of 1 Mac. p. 93.
[5] *Cf.* Tal. Meg. 11 a; Targum to Song of Songs, 6.9.

Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (6.25), citing Origen as authority, states that besides the twenty-two canonical books there was one that dealt with the Maccabees entitled *Sarbeth Sabanaiel*, (σαρβηθ σαβαναιελ). This Greek name is something of an enigma. Some explain it as a misunderstanding of the Hebrew ספר בית חשמונאים[6] "The Book of the House of the Hasmonaeans," of which *Sarbeth Sabanaiel* is a corruption. Many hold that such a title as "The Book of the House of the Hasmonaeans" is unlikely because the name Hasmonaeans is not mentioned in the book.[7]

Comparison of Origen's *Sarbeth Sabanaiel* with the usage of the rabbis may provide a clue to the true title of our book. I would suggest that the original reading in Origen was σφαρ βηθ σαραχαι ελ *sfar beth sarachai el*, "The Book of the House of the Princes of God." The text may have been corrupted by the omission of φ in the first word and the substitution of β for ρ and ν for χ in the second. Furthermore, one manuscript ends Origen's word in ιηλ instead of ιελ. ιηλ is an abbreviation of ισραηλ, "Israel," and our title would then be *Sfar beth sarachai*[8] *Israel*, "The Book of the House of the Princes of Israel." This hypothesis is corroborated by Simon's title σαρ αμ ελ, *sar am el*, "Prince of the People of God,"[9] bestowed upon him by the men of the Great Synagogue.[10] Moreover the Syriac version has רבא באיסראל, "a Prince of Israel." Similarly the letter of Antiochus VII addresses Simon as "Prince of the People of Israel."[11] For Origen, then, the title was probably "Book of the House of the Princes of Israel."

Now, let us see how Jewish literature and especially the rabbinical writings deal with the title. "Hasmonaean" is generally (but I think wrongly) taken to be a proper name. Josephus, for example, in *Jewish War*, 1.1.3 (36) says that Mattathias was the son of "Asmonaeus." His *Antiquities*, 12.6.1 (265) records that Mattathias was the son of John, the son of Simon, the son of Asmonaeus, a priest of the course (a shift, or rotation, of a set of priests in the Temple service) of Joarib. I Maccabees gives the same genealogy, omitting the word "Hasmonaeus." But in Tannaitic literature the word "Hasmonaim" (חשמונאים) appears to be not a proper name

[6] *Cf.* Grimm *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testamentes*, p. XVII; Schürer *Geschichte III* p. 141.

[7] *Cf.* Kahana, *ibid.* p. 81.

[8] The word *sarchon* was also applied to Mordecai. *Cf.* Targum to Esther 8.2; Targ. Y. Gen. 41, 41; Targ. Y. Ex. 24.1.

[9] I Mac. 14.27. In some MSS the reading is σαρ αμ ηλ "The Prince of the People of Israel," see critical note *ad loc.*

[10] *Ibid.* 14.28.

[11] *Ibid.* 15.1.

but rather a designation of honor equivalent to "princes." Origen's Hexapla renders the word חשמנים in *Psalms* 68.32 by πρέσβεις "dignitaries." In medieval Hebrew literature the princes of the Church were called "Hashmanim." Elijah Bahur (XV century) says that the Jews call the Cardinals "Hashmanim," and adds that he does not know why.[12] The term "Hashmanim" occurs frequently in Josippon, but always designates the brothers Judah, Jonathan, and Simon as a group. Josippon's account of the wars of Judah concludes: "The rest is written in the *Book of the House of the Hasmonaeans*." As has been observed (p. 59), Josippon saw the original Hebrew of *I Maccabees*.

It would accordingly follow that Mattathias was called "Hasmonaeus" because of his standing as a priest, and not because he was a descendant of a man called "Hasmonaeus." The "course" of Joarib, to which he belonged, was one of the most important. In Tannaitic literature that "course" is referred to with the word "even,"[13] indicating that it enjoyed special standing.

Possibly Origen's "Sfar Bet Sarche El" is actually a translation of *Sefar Bet Hashmonaim*, the "Book of the House of the Princes." But the book had two titles with the same meaning. The rabbis called it *Sefer Bet Hasmonaim*, "The Book of the House of the Princes," while the people called it "Sefer Bet Sarche El," "The Book of the Princes of God" (*i. e.*, the Priests of Israel). It was not unusual for a book to have two titles. Leviticus, commonly known as *Va-Yikra*, is called *Torat Kohanim* (Law of the Priests) in Tannaitic literature.[14] Deuteronomy, commonly known as *Debarim*, is also called *Mishneh Torah*. Incidentally, Origen has *Elle Addebarim* as well as "Deuteronomy."

The fact that the word "Hasmonaean" does not appear in the work does not invalidate *Book of the Hasmonaeans* as a title, for Hasmonaean is not a family name but simply signifies "dignitaries," "princes"—Judah, Jonathan, and Simon being princes in Israel. The book says nothing of the Tobias family, nor are Jason or Menelaus mentioned; our author was concerned only with the acts of the sons of Mattathias, princes in Israel.

The title *Book of the Maccabees* originated in the Church. Hippolytus (III century) quotes the book under that title.[15] Of the four *Books of the Maccabees* which we have today only the second, which deals with Judah Maccabee, is properly so titled. The first book

[12] *Cf. Ha'Tishbi*, Grodno, 1805, p. 25.
[13] Tosefta Tan. 2.1.
[14] Kid. 33a and *passim*.
[15] See above p. 64.

originally had the title *The Book of the House of the Hasmonaeans;* the third was probably called *On Providence,* and the fourth *On the Supreme Power of Reason.*[16]

Appendix B

The Name "Maccabee"

In I Maccabee (2.4) we are told that the third son of Mattathias was "surnamed the Maccabee" (ὁ καλούμενος μακκαβαῖος). Since the name does not occur in Talmud or Midrash, we have no ancient tradition for the Hebrew form. In the *Megillat Antiochus* it is written with a *kof*, מקבי; in Josippon with a *kaf*, מכבי. Various etymologies have been proposed to explain the derivation of the name. Some have held that it is derived from the Hebrew *maqqaba*, "hammer," suggesting Judah's prowess in "hammering" and crushing his enemies.[17] Others have maintained that its origin is to be derived from *kaba*, "quencher," suggesting that Judah had "quenched" the spirit of Hellenism.[18] Some have gone the length of explaining the name מכבי as an acrostic of מי כמוך באלים יהוה, "Who is like unto thee among the Gods, O Lord,"[19] the motto inscribed upon Judah's standard. This explanation has been popular among various groups,[20] but is completely untenable. We know of no use of cryptograms at this early period, and there is the more compelling argument that Hebrew *kaf* is regularly rendered by Greek *chi*, whereas Greek *kappa* represents Hebrew *kof*. Hence the *kappa* in *Makkabaios* must stand for a *kof*, not a *kaf*. Nor can we say that the surname was bestowed upon Judah for his prowess. For his father called him Maccabee even before he had had the opportunity to display his military prowess. Modern scholars are therefore constrained to admit that the word "Maccabee" is of unknown derivation.

A more plausible explanation is that the "mallet," *maqqeb* or *maqqaba*, has no connection with the activities of Judah but rather

[16] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin *JQR* 1947 p. 238.
[17] *Cf.* Grimm *op. cit.* pp. IX–X; Schürer 1, p. 204 n. 47.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Cf.* preface to I Mac. in the (Douay) Catholic Bible.

indicates a physical characteristic. "Judah the Maccabee" simply means "Judah the Hammer-headed." In Mishna *Bekhorot*,[21] where the various blemishes which disqualify a priest for service are listed, the *maqban* is mentioned, with the explanation that his head resembles a mallet. It was common practice to name a man by some distinctive physical feature. Thus one sage was called "the great,"[22] and another "the little,"[23] apparently because of physical stature. Rabbi Akiba was called "the bald,"[24] and Simon Pikoli "cotton tufted,"[25] presumably because the appearance of his hair suggested such a designation. Another Simon was called *Shikamonah*,[26] "sycamore," for some physical peculiarity. It was also common practice to designate a person by some characteristic habit. Josephus tells us (Life 3) that one of his ancestors, Simon, was surnamed Psellus, "the stammerer."

This practice was familiar to the Hellenistic world generally. Ptolemy, brother of Ptolemy Philometor (and so a contemporary of Judah the Maccabee) was called Physcon, "Fat-paunch"; and another Ptolemy was called Kokkes, "Scarlet." Antiochus VIII, son of Demetrius II, was surnamed Grypus, "Hook-nose." The Middle Ages followed the same usage. The French king Philip was called the Fair, and the German Frederick bore the surname Barbarossa, "Red beard." A similar practice is very common among the Jews of Eastern Europe in modern times.

Josippon's spelling of Maccabee with a *kaf* מכבי was influenced by the "Machabeus" of the Latin version, of which the *ch* was quite logically turned into *kaf*. In the English version of Josippon, published shortly after Cromwell's Commonwealth, the word Maccabeus does not occur, and we may therefore assume that the word מכבי was not in the original Josippon.

The surnames borne by the other sons of Mattathias very likely similarly reflected physical characteristics. John, the eldest, was called *Gaddi;* variant spellings yield *Gaddas* or the like. If Gaddi is correct he must have been given that name because his head resembled a "round grain"; the expression עגול כגידא, "spherical like a grain," occurs in the Talmud.[27] Simon, the second son, was surnamed *Thassi*, for which we have the variant *Thassis*. If *Thassis* is correct

[21] 7.1; *cf.* also F. Perles, *JQR* 1926, pp. 404–5; J. Klausner, *History of Israel* [in Hebrew], Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1924, 2, pp. 5–6.

[22] Eleazar Hagodal.

[23] Samuel Hakotan.

[24] *Cf.* Tal. Bek. 58a.

[25] *Cf.* Tal. Ber. 28b.

[26] *Cf.* Tal. B. B. 119a.

[27] *Cf.* Tal. Yoma 75a.

it is a transliteration of the Hebrew חשׁישׁ, "weakling." Eleazar and Jonathan, the remaining two sons, also bore surnames, but these have been so corrupted in transmission and their spellings are so diverse that it is impossible to divine the original form and its significance.

Appendix C

1. Chronology

The chronology of I Maccabees is based on the chronology of the Seleucid era. Antiochus Epiphanes' accession, for example, is dated (1.10) "the one hundred and thirty-seventh year of the Greek kingdom." The Seleucid era was inaugurated in honor of the victory gained by the allies over Demetrius near Gaza, at which time the Seleucid dynasty was founded. This battle was fought in the Summer of 312 BCE. All the peoples of the countries in the Near East, the Jews included, adopted the year 312 BCE as the beginning of a new era. Dates in II Maccabees as well as I Maccabees follow the Seleucid era.

There is a discrepancy, however, between the reckoning of these two books. According to I Maccabees, Antiochus V Eupator and Lysias besieged the Temple mound in 150;[28] in II Maccabees the year is given as 149.[29] The chronology of II Maccabees is thus one year ahead of that of I Maccabees. The usual explanation of the discrepancy is that whereas II Maccabees started its reckoning from the Autumn month of Tishri in 311 BCE,[30] I Maccabees reckons from the Spring month of Nisan in 312 BCE.[31] This hypothesis rests upon calculation of the incidence of the sabbatical year. The siege of the Temple mound by Antiochus and Lysias (dated at 150

[28] 6.20–60.

[29] 13.1–26.

[30] *Cf.* Joseph Scaliger, *Opus de Emendatione Temporum*, lib. V; Dionysius Petavius, *De Doctrina Temp.*, lib. II; Usher, *Annal. Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, II, London, 1654; Noris, *Epoch. Syromac.*, p. 75, 1696; Erasmus Froelich, *Annales Compendiarii Regum et rerum Syriae, Prolegomena*, Vienna, 1754; Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, I, pp. 531–4, Berlin, 1825.

[31] *Cf.* Schürer, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–40; E. Mahler, *Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1916, pp. 137–47.

AS) is said to have fallen in a sabbatical year. The sabbatical year, it is calculated, extended from Tishri (Autumn) 164 to Tishri 163. Hence if the chronology of I Maccabees takes the Spring (Nisan) as its starting point, then 150 AS corresponds to Nisan 163–Nisan 162, and the summer of 163 does fall in a sabbatical year.[32] If I Maccabees reckoned its era from Spring 312, then II Maccabees must have started from 311. And since the months of Dioscurus and Xanthicus are placed in the same year (148 AS),[33] we infer that the chronology of II Maccabees begins not from the Spring (Xanthicus) but from Autumn of 311.[34]

But I Maccabees cannot have started its year in Spring. The book was originally composed in Hebrew, and in Palestine, where the new year traditionally started in Tishri. Though all the peoples of the East followed the Seleucid era, they began their years according to their own traditions. Damascus, for example, counted from the Spring of 312,[35] while other cities counted from the Autumn months of Dios or Hyperberetaios. The Jews naturally counted from Tishri. Furthermore, a fractional year was counted as a full year; the interval between the date of birth and the following Tishri was counted as the child's first year.[36] So the interval between the Summer of 312 BCE and Tishri was counted as a year, and the second year of the Seleucid era began with 1 Tishri 312. Our author cannot have been wrong in referring to 150 AS (Autumn 164–Autumn 163) as a sabbatical year, for the sabbatical years were observed in his day.[37]

The solution of the chronological discrepancy between I and II Maccabees carries with it the solution of certain historical difficulties which have puzzled scholars. For example, I Maccabees places the death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 149,[38] whereas II Maccabees implies that the date was 148.[39] According to I Maccabees the re-

[32] *Cf.* Schürer, *ibid.;* S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit*, pp. 16–7.

[33] 11.16–33.

[34] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *op. cit.*

[35] Ideler, *op. cit.;* Schürer, *op. cit.;* Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, III, pp. 364–91; Unger, "Die Seleukidenära der Makkabäerbücher" *Sitzungsberichte der Philos.-Philol.-Hist. Cl. der k. b. Akademie der Wiss. zu München*, 1895. *Cf.* also W. Kolbe, *Beiträge zur Syrischen und jüdischen Geschichte*, 1926; *idem.* "Die Seleukidenära des ersten Makkabäerbuches," *Hermes*, 1927, pp. 225–42; F. Abel, "L'ère des Seleucides," *RB* 1938, pp. 208–13.

[36] *Cf.* Mishna R. H. 1; Midrash Raba Num. 1.

[37] On the chronology of sabbatical years, see Section 2 of this Appendix.

[38] 6.1–16.

[39] 9.1–28; 11.23–33.

dedication of the Temple took place in 149 AS, which is equivalent to Autumn 165 BCE; in II Maccabees the date is given as Kislev 148 AS, which is similarly equivalent to 165 BCE. The discrepancies are apparent rather than real.

2. The Sabbatical Cycles

I Maccabees, Josephus, and the Talmud speak of sabbatical years. According to I Maccabees, 150 AS was such a year.[40] Josephus tells us that the year after Simon the Hasmonaean was assassinated was sabbatical.[41] According to I Maccabees this assassination took place in Shebat 177 AS.[42] Hence 178 AS must have been a sabbatical year. Josephus tells us that Herod and Sosius captured Jerusalem in a sabbatical year.[43] This took place in the 185th Olympiad in the consulship of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus.[44] The Talmud states that the destruction of the Second Temple (Ab 70 CE) took place in a post-sabbatical year;[45] hence 68–69 CE must have been sabbatical.

I Maccabees and Josephus show certain discrepancies in the chronology of the sabbatical years.[46] These may be removed by a revised calculation of the era of the Seleucids in I Maccabees and a fuller understanding of Josephus' method of reckoning Olympiads. In I Maccabees the second year of the Seleucid era is reckoned from Tishri 312 BCE, the interval from the summer of 312 BCE, when the battle of Gaza took place, being counted a full year.[47] Hence the sabbatical year of 150 AS coincides with 164–163 BCE. Four sabbatical cycles would bring us to 178 AS, or 136–135 BCE. This is in full accord with Josephus' statement that the year after the assassination of Simon was sabbatical.

Another fourteen sabbatical cycles would give us a sabbatical year in 38–37 BCE. Josephus says that the destruction of the city of Jerusalem took place when "Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls at Rome, in the one hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad,

[40] 6.20–54.
[41] *Ant.* 13.8.1 (234).
[42] 16.14.
[43] *Ant.* 14.16.2 (475).
[44] *Ibid.* (487).
[45] Tal. Tan. 29a; Ar. 11b.
[46] *Cf.* Schürer, *op. cit.;* Bickermann, *PW* "Makkäbaerbücher"; R. Marcus, *Josephus*, (The Loeb Classical Library), Vol. VII, p. 196, n. a.
[47] See S. Zeitlin, *Meg. Tan.*, p. 11.

on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast."[48] The consulate of Agrippa and Gallus fell in 717 AUC or 37 BCE.[49] Dio Cassius dates the destruction of Jerusalem to the consulate of Claudius and Norbanus,[50] which fell in 716 AUC or 38 BCE. Dio Cassius' has been the preferred dating.[51] But actually there is no contradiction between the two historians. Dio reckons the consulate from March, when the consuls assumed office.[52] Josephus, as we shall presently see, employed the Macedonian calendar, in which the Olympiads began in the Autumn. Similarly, he reckons the consulate not from March but from the beginning of the Olympian year, which was in the Autumn.[53] Consequently events between Dios (October) in the Autumn and the March following would be assigned to the succeeding consulate.

Jerusalem is said to have been captured in the third month. This cannot mean the third month of the siege, for Josephus himself states that the city fell after a siege of five to six months.[54] Nor can the third month of the Jewish calendar be intended, for the capture is dated by the Olympian year. Therefore the third month of the Olympian year in the 185th Olympiad of the Macedonian calendar must be intended. The third month in the Attic-Olympian calendar corresponds to the Hebrew Tishri, which implies a contradiction with the statement that the sabbatical year preceded and followed the capture of Jerusalem.[55] The third month would thus be Audyneus, which corresponds to December–January, or the Hebrew Tebet. Hence the capture of Jerusalem in Tebet or January 37 BCE would fall, according to Dio, in the consulate of Claudius and Urbanus, whose office expired in March 37 BCE, whereas Josephus would date the capture to the consulate of Agrippa and Gallus, although they assumed office in March of 37 BCE. There is no disagreement between the two historians.

The Fast Day to which Josephus refers cannot be the Day of

[48] *Ant.* 14.16 (487).

[49] *Cf.* H. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, Oxford, 1830, 3, p. 220.

[50] Dio, 49, 22–23.

[51] Clinton, *ibid.;* Fisher, *Römische Zeittafelen*, Altona, 1846, p. 350; Schürer, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 358, n. 11.

[52] According to M. T. Varro the term of the Roman consuls at this time began in March. *Cf.* Varro 6, 12 Frag. and 33 *si Martio ut antiqui constituerunt numeres.* See also Th. Mommsen, *Die Römische Chronologie*, Berlin, 1859, pp. 98–9.

[53] Following the method of Polybius, *cf.* H. Nissen, "Die Oekonomie der Geschichte des Polybios," *Rhein. Mus.* XXVI (1871), pp. 241–82.

[54] *The Jewish War*, 1.18 (351), 2; 5.9, 4 (398).

[55] *Ant.*, 14 (475), 15.1, 2 (7).

Atonement,[56] for the Day of Atonement falls on the tenth of Tishri, in the first month of which, according to Josephus, the sabbatical year begins. The shortages occasioned by the sabbatical year could hardly have been felt before the tenth of Tishri. Furthermore the "third month," as we have seen, must mean Audyneus, which corresponds with Tebet. Hence the Fast Day is unquestionably the tenth of Tebet, which commemorated the siege of the Babylonians.[57] In 37 BCE that day fell on the twelfth or thirteenth of January.[58] Josephus' supplementary statement that the capture of the city by Herod and Sosius actually marked the anniversary of Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem earlier,[59] requires consideration. Pompey's capture of the city also fell on a fast day, in the Summer of 63 BCE. The interval between the Summer of 63 BCE and January, 37 BCE is less than twenty-seven years. But there is no real difficulty, for Josephus counted a fraction of a year as a whole one, which would make the interval twenty-seven years.[60]

Josephus' statement that the capture took place on the "same day" would contradict our theory that Herod captured Jerusalem on the tenth of Tebet, for we know that Pompey took it in the Summer. But "the same day" refers rather to the day of the week than to the calendar day. In 63 BCE the fast of the ninth of Tammuz fell on a Tuesday or Wednesday; the tenth of Tebet in 37 BCE fell on Wednesday or Thursday. Hence we may assume that both captures of Jerusalem fell on a Wednesday.[61]

[56] *Cf.* Van der Chijs, *de Herode Magno*, pp. 35–41; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, IV; Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, p. 59; Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, and "Die Eroberung Jerusalems durch Herodes," *Rhein. Mus.*, 1895, pp. 311–14; Unger, *op. cit.*, pp. 273–77; Kellner, *Katholik*, 11, 1887, pp. 118–21; Herzfeld, "Wann war die Eroberung Jerusalems durch Pompejus, und wann die durch Herodes?" *MGWJ*, 1855, pp. 109–15; Kromayer, "Die Eroberung Jerusalems durch Herodes," *Hermes*, XXIX, 1894, pp. 563–71; Graetz, *Geschichte*, III, p. 196; Hitzig, *Geschichte*, II, 532.

[57] *Cf.* II Kings 24.1.

[58] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[59] "This calamity befell the city of Jerusalem during the consulship at Rome of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus, in the hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad, in the third month, on the day of the Fast, as if it were a recurrence of the misfortune which came upon the Jews in the time of Pompey, for they were captured by Sosius on the very same day, twenty-seven years later."

[60] From the ninth of Tammuz 63 till the tenth of Tebet 37 were twenty-seven chronological years as Josephus counted a fraction of a year as a whole one.

[61] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *op. cit.*, p. 27; see also Tal. Tan. 26; Ar. 11–12.

Our calculations are substantiated by the Talmudic statement that the Temple was burned by the Romans in a post-sabbatical year. Inasmuch as this took place in Ab, 3830 AM or 70 CE, the sabbatical year was in 3829 AM or 68–69 CE. This is exactly fifteen cycles from the sabbatical year which Josephus mentions as falling in 38–37 BCE. Maimonides records that according to the tradition of the Gaonim, 4936 AM or 1175–76 CE was a post-sabbatical year.[62] 4935 AM or 1174–75 CE, which would then be a sabbatical, is exactly one hundred fifty-eight cycles after the sabbatical of 68–69 CE. If we add one hundred and ten cycles, we should have 5705 AM or 1944–45 CE as a sabbatical.

We have shown that all the sources—I Maccabees, Josephus, the Talmud and the rabbinic literature—are in full accord on the cycles of the sabbatical years. This is also substantiated by the fact that the year 1944–1945 was a sabbatical year and 5712 AM, 1951–1952 will be a sabbatical year.

3. The Seleucid Era in I Maccabees

I Maccabees contains twenty-one instances of dating by the Seleucid era.[63] Eleven of these refer to Jewish events, as for example the rededication of the Temple in 149 AS (4.52), or the attainment of independence in 170 AS (13.42). These dates are surely calculated according to the Jewish practice—that is, the years they counted from Tishri, in the Autumn and the months from Nisan, in the Spring. It is also clear that the Jews counted the year beginning with Tishri 312 BCE as the year 2.

If Jewish events are clearly dated according to the Judaean system, what of the ten instances where the events pertaining to the Syrian government are referred to?[64] It is equally evident that these dates too follow the Jewish method of reckoning, for the Jews followed their practice of dating all events and all documents to the Seleucid era. Our author did not use written sources. He was himself an eyewitness or participant, or obtained his information from eyewitnesses; in either case his dates would be those in current use.

Not only dates of events in Syrian politics at variance with those

[62] *Cf. Mishne Torah*, Shemittah, 10, 6. Joseph ben Ephraim Caro (d. 1575) records that the year 5292 AM or 1531–32 CE was a sabbatical year which is fifty-one cycles after the sabbatical year of 1174–75 CE recorded by Maimonides. See *Abkot Rokel*, 23.

[63] 1.10, 20, 54; 2.70; 3.37; 4.52; 6.16, 20; 7.1; 9.3, 54; 10.1, 57, 67; 11.19; 13.41, 51; 14.1, 27; 15.10; 16.14.

[64] 1.10; 3.37; 6.16; 7.1; 10.1, 57, 67; 11.19; 14.1; 15.10.

given by annalists,[65] but the dating found in Seleucid coinage has been cited to impugn the credit of I Maccabees,[66] and efforts have been made to prove that the Seleucid era in I Maccabees cannot date from the Autumn of 312 or from the Spring of 312.[67] But these difficulties are more apparent than real. The Seleucid era was reckoned differently in various countries. In Palestine it began with the Autumn of 313, while in Syria the official reckoning was from the Autumn of 312. Other countries whose traditional new year fell in the Spring began their reckoning of the Seleucid era from the Spring also, either in 312 or in some cases in 311.[68]

The Seleucid kings themselves counted their era from the founding of their dynasty, disregarding the traditional Syrian new year, which came in the Autumn. The official era began in May 312, when Seleucus defeated Demetrius near Gaza. With this in mind we shall find many difficulties solved. Events from May until October will conform with the record given in I Maccabees because these would naturally be five months ahead of the official Seleucid era in Syria. A coin of Alexander Balas dated 167 AS,[69] for example, might have been struck between May and October; it would fall in 146 BCE in accordance with the reckoning of I Maccabees, but in 145 BCE according to the official Syrian reckoning.

We must also bear in mind that from the time of Seleucus IV until Antiochus VII Sidetes civil wars raged in Syria. Assassinations and usurpations followed in rapid succession. We do not know whether the dating of coinage was calculated from the usurper's accession or from his predecessor's assassination. The classical historians who deal with Syria do not record the Seleucid era, and we can deduce dates from internal evidence only. Livy sometimes refers to events in Syria in connection with a particular Roman consul. But before its revision in 46 BCE the Roman calendar was very irregular; months were sometimes advanced, sometimes retarded and it is therefore very difficult to fix an event in the Seleucid kingdom with reference to a date in the Roman calendar. Just as the history of

[65] Eusebius, (Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri Operum, Venetiis, 1769); Hieronymus ad Daniel, ch. XI, *Antiochi . . . Epiphanes . . . undecim annus regnavit in Syria;* Sulpicius Severus, *Sacrae Historiae. Cf.* also Scaliger, *op. cit.;* Schürer, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–40.

[66] Erasmo Froelich, *Annales Compendiarii Regum et Rerum Syriae, Viennae*, 1744; M. De Saulcy, *Mémoire sur les monnaies datées des Seleucides*, Paris, 1871; M. Ernest Babelon, *Les Rois des Syrie*, Paris, 1891. *Cf.* also Clinton, *op. cit.;* Bickermann, *op. cit.*

[67] Unger, *op. cit.*

[68] Ideler, *op. cit.;* Schürer, *op. cit.*

[69] Saulcy, *op. cit.*

Rome cannot be written without reference to the Varronian years of Rome and the history of Greece cannot be written without reference to the Olympiads, so the history of Syria cannot be written without reference to the Seleucid era, and I Maccabees is our only authentic source for these dates.

I shall now proceed to relate the dates given in I Maccabees to Seleucid history.

I Maccabees dates the accession of Antiochus IV to 137 AS.[70] In the Summer of 137 AS (176 BCE) his brother Seleucus was assassinated by Heliodorus, who sought to establish himself as king. Heliodorus was driven out by Eumenes and Attalus, who installed Antiochus IV as king.[71] The latter was in Athens at the time of the assassination of Seleucus, and succeeded to the throne in the Summer of 176 BCE. Antiochus reckoned the years of his reign from the assassination of his brother, although he was in Athens and not in Antioch at the time.

I Maccabees 1.20 relates that in 143 AS (171–170 BCE) Antiochus invaded Jerusalem on his return from Egypt. But Antiochus invaded Egypt several times.[72] After the death of his sister Cleopatra he made war on Egypt (171–170 BCE) and on his return from Egypt invaded Jerusalem.[73] Two years later (145 AS; 169–68 BCE) he again invaded Egypt, but was ordered to leave by the Roman Senate. The order was delivered by Popillius after the Battle of Pydna, which took place in June 168 BCE.[74] His second invasion of Judaea therefore probably took place in August of 145 AS (168 BCE). The setting of the idol on the altar took place a few months after, on the 25 Kislev 168 BCE.

I Maccabees records that Antiochus Epiphanes went to the upper lands in 147 AS (Summer of 166 BCE).[75] According to I Maccabees the death of Antiochus occurred in 149.[76] He died, as was pointed out above, in the late Autumn of 165 BCE. Eusebius says the reign of Antiochus lasted eleven years.[77] Appian says that he ruled not quite twelve years,[78] a period which really corresponds to that

[70] 1.10.

[71] Appian, *The Syrian Wars*, 45. *Cf.* also B. Niese, *Geschichte der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten*, III, p. 92, n. 7.

[72] *Cf.* Jerom on Daniel 11; Clinton, *op. cit.*

[73] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 35.

[74] Polybius, 29.2; Livy, 45.10.

[75] 3.37.

[76] *Cf.* above Introd. p. 27.

[77] Eusebius, *op. cit.*; *cf.* Clinton, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

[78] *The Syrian Wars*, 66.

given in I Maccabees, which says that Antiochus became king in 137 AS (Summer of 176 BCE) and died in 149 AS (late Autumn of 165 BCE) which amounts to more than eleven years. Eusebius counts only full years, and hence he states that the reign lasted eleven years, while Appian states that it lasted not quite twelve years. According to Eusebius, Antiochus died in the year 154 of the Olympiad which generally corresponds to 164–160 BCE.[79] But Eusebius used not the Attic but the Macedonian system, which starts from the Autumn of 777 BCE.[80] Thus Olympiad 154 would correspond exactly to the Maccabean date 149 AS.

Antiochus Epiphanes died in Persia while his son, a boy of nine, was with Lysias in Syria. The news of his death probably reached Lysias in the beginning of 164 BCE, whereupon he assumed the crown as Antiochus Eupator. Eusebius makes his reign last one year. Josephus says that he reigned two years.[81] Actually he reigned more than two years. Josephus reckoned only full years and disregarded fractions. Antiochus Eupator ascended to the throne in the early part of 164 BCE, and was assassinated by Demetrius I in the late Summer of 162 BCE.

Polybius tells us that Demetrius escaped from Rome, where he had been a hostage, soon after the death of Octavius,[82] who was assassinated in Syria in 162. Demetrius' flight is generally dated to the Autumn of 162,[83] but this date is not borne out by Polybius, who relates that Demetrius fled on a Carthaginian ship which bore first fruits sent by the Carthaginians to their gods in Tyre.[84] The offering of first fruits would take place in late Spring, and the flight of Demetrius must therefore have taken place in the early Summer.

Froelich[85] mentions a coin of Demetrius I dated 151. Since the Seleucids counted from the Spring of 312 BCE, 151 AS would fall in the Summer of 162 BCE, which corresponds to the date for Demetrius given in I Maccabees.

Josephus gives the reign of Demetrius as eleven years[86] while Polybius states that it lasted twelve years.[87] We learn from I

[79] Clinton, *op. cit.;* Schürer, *op. cit.*
[80] Unger, *op. cit.*
[81] *Ant.*, 12.10, 1 (390).
[82] 31.11–14. *Cf.* also Appian, *op. cit.*, 47; Justin, 34.3, 35.1.
[83] *Cf.* Clinton, *op. cit.*, 324.
[84] 31.12.
[85] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.
[86] *Ant.* 13.2, 4 (61).
[87] 3.5.

Maccabees that Demetrius ascended the throne in 151[88] and was killed in battle with Alexander Balas in 162 AS.[89] He ascended the throne in the early Summer of 162 BCE and was killed in the late Summer of 151 BCE, which means that he reigned more than eleven years.

According to I Maccabees, Alexander Balas captured Ptolemais in 160 AS and thereupon declared himself king of Syria. I Maccabees also tells us that he defeated Demetrius in 162 AS.[90] In 167 AS he was defeated by Nicanor II and the latter's ally, Ptolemy, and was assassinated shortly afterwards.[91] His reign, as given by Eusebius[92] and Josephus,[93] lasted five years, which would fall between 162 AS (Summer of 151 BCE) and 167 AS (late Summer of 146 BCE).

Babelon[94] and Froelich[95] cite coins of Alexander dated 160 AS and 167 AS. This means that Alexander considered himself king in the Summer of 153 BCE, when he captured Ptolemais. I Maccabees relates that Demetrius II returned from Crete to Syria in the year 165 AS[96] (149–148 BCE). His victory over Alexander took place in 167 AS[97] (late Summer of 146 BCE). Coins from Demetrius dated 167 AS are extant.[98] In the Summer of 146 BCE coins were struck by both Demetrius and Alexander. Though the coins are dated according to the Seleucid era, they are not a definite criterion of the sequence of events. Demetrius II, who assumed his kingdom in the year 167 AS (147–146 BCE), left Syria for the Upper Lands where he became a captive in Syria in 174 AS (Summer of 139 BCE).

To resolve discrepancies, then, we must remember that (a) I Maccabees reckoned the Seleucid era from the time of 312 BCE as Year 2; (b) the Seleucid kings reckoned the dates on their coinage from the establishment of their dynasty in the Spring of 312 BCE; and finally, (c) some sources, like Eusebius, reckoned the Olympiad era according to the Macedonian system, which began in the Summer of 777 BCE.

[88] 7.1.
[89] 10.50–7.
[90] *Ibid.* 57.
[91] 11.14–19.
[92] *Op. cit.; cf.* also Clinton, *op. cit.*, 324.
[93] *Ant.* 13.4, 8 (119).
[94] *Op. cit.*, p. CXIX.
[95] *Op. cit.*, p. 61.
[96] 10.67.
[97] 11.19.
[98] Froelich, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

4. Josephus and the Seleucid and Olympiad Eras

Josephus' Seleucid dating in his Antiquities undoubtedly followed I Maccabees, but in two instances he subjoins the Olympiad era.[99] Since he could neither have taken the Olympiad dating from I Maccabees nor calculated the correspondence of the Seleucid and Olympiad eras himself, it is clear that he used other sources to supplement I Maccabees, which was his main source.

Like I Maccabees, Josephus' *Antiquities* begins the second year of the Seleucid era with 312 BCE. Josephus' date for the death of Mattathias (146 AS,[100] 168–167 BCE) follows I Maccabees. Other dates taken from I Maccabees are: 147 AS for Antiochus IV's march into Persia;[101] 149 AS for Antiochus' death;[102] 150 AS for Antiochus' invasion of Jerusalem;[103] 160 for Alexander Balas' capture of Ptolemy;[104] 170 for the independence of Judaea.[105] But to 145 AS as the year of the defilement of the Temple by Antiochus he adds "the 153d Olympiad," and to 148 as the year of the purification of the Temple he adds "the 154th Olympiad." Here the Seleucid dating is not based on I Maccabees but on an independent source which began this era with 312; 148 AS would then correspond to 165–64 BCE and agree with I Maccabees, where 149 AS also corresponds to 165–64 BCE.

But there is an apparent difficulty in the Olympiad dating. The 154th Olympiad should extend from July 164 to July 160, and hence could not correspond to 148 AS which began in 165[106] But if we assume that Josephus reckoned Olympiads according to the Macedonian system we shall have no difficulty,[107] for in that system the 154th Olympiad extends from Autumn 165 to Autumn 161, which

[99] *Ant.* 12.5, 4 (248). "In the hundred and forty-fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month which by us is called Chasleu, and by the Macedonians Apellaios, in the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad, the king went up to Jerusalem"; *ibid.* (251) "And the Temple was renovated on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apellaios, in the hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad."

[100] *Ant. ibid.* (285).

[101] *Ibid.* (297).

[102] *Ibid.* (361).

[103] *Ibid.* (363).

[104] *Ibid.* 13.2, 1 (35).

[105] *Ibid.* (213).

[106] *Cf.* Reinach, *Oeuvres completes de Flavius Josephe, Ant.*, XII, 4.6, p. 109, n. 2; see also Niese, *Zur Chronologie des Josephus*, pp. 224–5.

[107] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

corresponds to 148 AS; I Maccabees' 149 also corresponds to 165–164 BCE.

Antiquities 13.236 records that Antiochus Sidetes invaded Judaea "in the fourth year of his reign and the first of Hyrcanus' rule, in the 162nd Olympiad." Although unrelated to I Maccabees, an examination of this dating may clarify Josephus' practice for us. Antiochus became king of Syria in 174 AS[108] (Summer of 139 BCE), and thus his fourth year would correspond to 136–35 BCE. Simon was assassinated in 177 AS[109] (Shebat 136 BCE), and thus the fourth year of Antiochus might coincide with the first year of John Hyrcanus. If we maintain that the 162nd Olympiad extends from July of 132 to July of 128 BCE, the Olympian dating would not correspond to the actual dates of Antiochus and Hyrcanus. We cannot attribute[110] the Olympiad dating to a scribal error or to an error of Josephus, for both Eusebius and Porphyry give the same figure of the 162nd Olympiad.[111] There is another difficulty in Josephus' text. The first year of the reign of John Hyrcanus, 178 AS (136–35 BCE) was a sabbatical year,[112] and Josephus would surely have mentioned that John Hyrcanus desired peace because of the sabbatical shortage.

Our text of *Antiquities* is undoubtedly corrupt. The word πρώτῳ, "first" was not intended as a modifier of "year" but of Hyrcanus;[113] he was called Hyrcanus the First,[114] to distinguish him from his grandson Hyrcanus son of Alexander, who was called the Second. The word "fourth" really refers to Hyrcanus' regnal year—"the fourth year of Hyrcanus the First." Some scribe, not realizing the significance of the word πρώτῳ and seeing the word "fourth," thought it must refer to Hyrcanus' regnal year and so altered the text. This hypothesis is corroborated by an old text of Josippon, which reads, "In the fourth year of King Hyrcanus, Pius, king of Greece, came and besieged Jerusalem." The fourth year of John Hyrcanus would be the Summer of 133 BCE, and the 162nd Olympiad would also correspond to 133–129 BCE; hence there is no contradiction in Josephus' two forms of dating.

[108] I Mac. 15.10.

[109] *Ibid.* 16.14.

[110] *Cf.* Schürer, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 259, n. 5.

[111] Eusebius, *Chronicon Hieronymo Interprete*, Venice 1769, v. VIII, p. 581; Porphyry, *Chronica Regum Macedonum*, VI, 18; Müller, *Frag. his. Graec.* III; Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaisme*, Paris, 1895, p. 206. *Anno Tertio CLXII. Olympiadis.*

[112] *Ant.* 13.7, 8 (234).

[113] *Cf.* S. Zeitlin, *Josephus on Jesus*, pp. 57–8.

[114] *Ant.* 18.4, 3, "There was one of the high priest, named Hyrcanus . . . he was the first of them."

5. Ptolemaic and Seleucidean Dynasties

Alexander the Great—323

I. The Ptolèmies	II. The Seleucids
Ptolemy I Soter (satrap of Egypt, 323–305) King, 305–283	Seleucus I Nicator 312—(281) 280
Ptolemy II Philadelphus 283–245	Antiochus I Soter (281)280–262
Ptolemy III Euergetes I (247) 245–221	Antiochus II Theos 262–246
Ptolemy IV Philopator 221–203	Seleucus II Callinicus 246–226
Ptolemy V Epiphanes 203–181	Seleucus III Soter 226–224
Ptolemy VI Philometor 180–146	Antiochus III the Great 223–187
Ptolemy VII Physcon (146)145–116	Seleucus IV Philopator 187–176
	Antiochus IV Epiphanes 176–165
	Antiochus V Eupator 165–162
	Demetrius I Soter 162–151
	Alexander Balas (153)151–146
	Demetrius II Nicator 146–139
	Antiochus VI Epiphanes (146)145–(143)142
	Antiochus VII Sidetes 139–129

6. Chronological Table of Events.

137 AS, 176 BCE Antiochus Epiphanes ascended the throne, (1.10).
143 AS, 170 BCE Antiochus invaded Jerusalem, (1.20).
Two years later, i. e. in the summer of 168 BCE, Apollonius entered Jerusalem, (1.29).
146 AS, 168 BCE In the month Kislev—December the Temple was defiled, (1.54).
146 AS, 167 BCE (In the spring or summer) Mattathias died, (2.70).
147 AS, 167–166 BCE Antiochus crossed the Euphrates on his way to Persia, (3.37).
In the following year, probably the spring of 165 BCE, Lysias made his first expedition against Judah Maccabee, (4.28).
149 AS, 165 BCE Kislev—December the Temple was consecrated, (4.52).
149 AS, 165 BCE (probably October) Antiochus Epiphanes died, (6.16).
150 AS, 163 BCE (probably in the spring) Antiochus Eupator and Lysias invaded Judaea, (6.19).

151 AS, 162 BCE (probably in the early summer) Demetrius ascended the throne of Syria, (7.1).
On the 13th of Adar (February) 161 BCE Nicanor was killed, (7.43).
152 AS, 161 BCE Nisan—April Bacchides invaded Judaea, (9.3).
153 AS, 160 BCE Iyyar—May Alcimus died, (9.54).
160 AS, 154–153 BCE Alexander Balas took possession of Ptolemais, (10.1).
162 AS, 152–151 BCE Alexander Balas defeated Demetrius I, (10.57).
165 AS, 149–148 BCE Demetrius II returned from Crete to Syria, (10.67).
167 AS, 147–146 BCE Demetrius II became king of Syria, (11–19).
170 AS, 144–143 BCE Judaea became independent, (13.41).
171 AS, 142 BCE 23rd of Iyyar—May Akra was taken, (13.51).
172 AS, 142–141 BCE Demetrius II marched into Media, (14.1).
172 AS, 141 BCE 18th day of Ellul—August a Great Synagogue was assembled, (14–27).
174 AS, 140–139 BCE Antiochus Sidetes declared himself king, (15.10).
177 AS, 136 BCE Shebat—February Simon was assassinated, (16.14).

ABBREVIATIONS

A. Biblical Passages Quoted

Chron.	Chronicles
Dan.	Daniel
Deut.	Deuteronomy
Esth.	Esther
Ex.	Exodus
Ez.	Ezekiel
Gen.	Genesis
Hab.	Habakkuk
Hag.	Haggai
Is.	Isaiah
Jer.	Jeremiah
Judg.	Judges
Lam.	Lamentations
Lev.	Leviticus
Mal.	Malachi
Mic.	Micah
Neh.	Nehemiah
Num.	Numbers
Ps.	Psalms
Sam.	Samuel
Zech.	Zechariah

B. Talmudic Passages Quoted

Ab. Zarah	Aboda Zarah
Ar.	Arakin
B. B.	Baba Batra
Bek.	Bekorot
Ber.	Berakot
Bik.	Bikkurim
B. M.	Baba Mezia
Er.	Erubin
Git.	Gittin
Hul.	Hullin
Ket.	Ketubot
Kid.	Kiddushin
Meg.	Megillah
Meg. Taan.	Megillat Taanit
Men.	Menahot
Mid.	Middot
Oh.	Oholot
Pes.	Pesahim
R. H.	Rosh Hashanah
Sanh.	Sanhedrin
Shab.	Shabbat
Sheb.	Shebiit
Shebu.	Shebuot
Sof.	Soferim
Suk.	Sukkah
Taan.	Taanit
Mid.	Midrash
Mid. Lam.	Midrash Lamentation
Tal. B.	Talmud Babli (Babylonian Talmud)
Tal. Yer.	Talmud Yerushalmi (Palestinian Talmud)

C. Authors and Publications

Ant.	Antiquities
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
DB	Dictionary of the Bible
Diod.	Diodorus Siculus
EB	Encyclopaedia Biblica
Eus.	Eusebius
HDB	Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible
HS	Die Heilege Schrift des Alten Testaments
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
Jos.	Josephus
Klio	Klio (Beitrage zur Alten Geschichte)
MGWJ	Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
Poly.	Polybius
RB	Revue Biblique
REJ	Revue des Études Juives
Rhein. Mus.	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

D. Miscellaneous

ad loc.	on the passage
AS	Anno Sel. (the Seleucidean Era)
App.	Appendix
ca.	about
cf.	compare
ch.	chapter
ep.	epitome
Gr.	Greek
Heb.	Hebraism
ibid	same place
Introd.	Introduction
LXX	the Septuagint
Ms, Mss	manuscript,manuscripts
om.	omitted
op. cit.	work quoted
Sy	Syriac
V	The Vulgate
v	verse

\+ Indicates that in some MS or MSS the word or words are inserted

> Indicates that in some MS or MSS the word or words are omitted

SOURCES AND SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Sources

The Hebrew Bible

The Apocrypha Fritsche, *Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti*, Leipzig, 1871; H. B. Sweete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge, 1905; and A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, Stuttgart, 1935

The New Testament *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Hermann Freiherr von Soden, Göttingen, 1913

Josephus *Flavii Josephi Opera*, B. Niese, Berlin, 1892; The Loeb Classical Library

Megillat Taanit Ed. S. Zeitlin, Philadelphia, 1922

The Palestinian Talmud

The Babylonian Talmud

The Midrashic Literature

Josippon Ed. Günzburg, Berditschev, 1896–1913

Appian *Roman History*, The Loeb Classical Library, 1912

Arrian *Anabasis Alexandri*, The Loeb Classical Library, 1933

Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica*, Leipzig, 1867; The Loeb Classical Library

Herodotus Ed. R. W. Macan; The Loeb Classical Library

Justin *Justini Historiarum ex Trogo Pompeio*, Paris, 1810

Livy Ed. M. Müller, Leipzig, 1898; The Loeb Classical Library

Pliny *Natural History*, The Loeb Classical Library

Plutarch *Vitae Parallelae*, C. Sintenis, Leipzig, 1874; The Loeb Classical Library

Polybius *Historiae*, Leipzig, 1882–1904; The Loeb Classical Library

St. Augustine *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 40–42

Cyprinus Caecilii Cypriani, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vindobonae, 1868

Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. E. Schwartz, Berlin

Hippolytus *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Drei Jahrhunderte*, E. G. Nath. Bonwetsch und Hans Acheles, Leipzig, 1897

Jerome *Commentariorum in Danielem, Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi*, Venice, 1768

Origen *Origenis Opera Omnia*, ed. Lommatzsch, Berlin

Rufinus *Tyrannii Rufini Opera, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Leipzig, 1910

Tertullian *Tertulliani Opera*, Oehler, Leipzig, 1854

B. Literature on I Maccabees

* Le P. F.-M. Abel *Les Livres des Maccabées*, Paris, 1949
Donatien De Bruyne "Le texte grec des deux premiers livres des Machabées," RB 31 (1922)
Arnaldo Momigliano *Prime linee di storia della tradizione maccabaica*, Rome, 1930
B. Niese *Kritik der Beiden Makkabäerbücher*, Berlin, 1900
J. Wellhausen "Über den Geschichtlichen Wert des zweiten Makkabäerbuchs im Verhältnis zum ersten," Nachr. Gött. G. d. Wiss., 1905
G. Schmidt *Über die beiden Syrischen Übersetzungen des I Maccabäerbuches*, Leipzig, 1896
H. Ettelson *The Integrity of I Maccabees* (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 27, pp. 249–384), New Haven, 1925
Charles C. Torrey "Maccabees," EB, 1902; "Three Troublesome Proper Names in I Maccabees," JBL, 1924; *The Apocryphal Literature*, New Haven, 1945
Robert H. Pfeiffer *History of the New Testament Times with an Introduction to the Apocrypha* (pp. 461–498), New York, 1949

C. General History

E. Schürer *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, (III Ed.)
J. Juster *Les Juifs dans l'empire Romain*, Paris, 1914
M. J. Lagrange *Le Judaïsme avant Jésus Christ*, Paris, 1931
G. H. Box *Judaism in the Greek Period*, Oxford, 1932
A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire des Séleucides*, Paris, 1913
B. Niese *Geschichte der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten*, Gotha, 1903
Eduard Meyer *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1921
F. De Saulcy *Histoire des Machabées*, Paris, 1880
A. Schlatter *Geschichte Israels von Alexander dem Grossen bis Hadrian*, Stuttgart, 1925
E. Täubler *Imperium Romanum I*, Leipzig, 1913
J. Wellhausen *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, Berlin, 1914
H. Willrich *Juden und Griechen, vor der Makkabäischen Erhebung*, Göttingen, 1893; *Judaica*, Göttingen, 1900
V. Aptowitzer *Parteipolitik der Hasmonaerzeit im Rabbinischen und Pseudoepigraphischen Schrifttum*, Vienna, New York, 1927
J. Klausner *History of Israel* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem Tel Aviv, 1924
E. R. Bevan *The House of Seleucus*, London, 1902; *A History of Egypt Under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London, 1927; "Syria and the Jews," *Cambridge Ancient History* VIII, pp. 495–533

* This book reached me after the I Maccabees was already in page proofs.

P. Jouguet *L'Impérialisme Macédonien et L'Hellénisation de L'orient*, Paris, 1926
A. Büchler *Tobiaden und Oniaden*, 1899
M. Rostovtzeff *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford, 1941
A. Tscherikower *Jews and Greeks* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1930; "Palestine Under the Ptolemies" *Mizraim*, 1937
E. Bikerman *Institutions des Séleucides*, Paris, 1938
M. S. Ginsburg *Rome et la Judée*, Paris, 1928
A. Geiger *Urschrift*, Breslau, 1857
S. Zeitlin *The History of the Second Jewish Commonwealth, Prolegomena*, 1933; *Who Crucified Jesus?* New York, 1947, 9–31

D. Chronology

E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie*, Paris, 1890
H. Clinton *Fasti Hellenici III*, Oxford, 1830
J. Ideler *Handbuch der Chronologie*, Berlin, 1825
F. Ginzel *Handbuch der Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1911
E. A. Mahler *Handbuch der Jüdischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1916
F. Kugler *Von Moses bis Paulus*, Münster, 1922
F-M Abel "Lére des Seleucides," RB 1938
Unger "Die Seleukidenära der Makkabäerb." Sitzungsb. München, A. W., 1895
W. Kolbe *Beiträge zur Syrischen und Jüdischen Geschichte*, Stuttgart, 1926; "Die Seleukidenära des Ersten Makkabäerbuches," *Hermes*, 1927
A. Olmstead "Cuneiform Texts and Hellenistic Chronologie" *Classical Philology*, 1937
E. Cavaignac "La chronologie des Séleucides d' après les documents cunéiformes," *R.d'Ass.*, 1931
S. Zeitlin *Megillat Taanit as a Source for Jewish Chronology and History in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Philadelphia, 1922

E. Geography

Eusebius *Das Onomastikon*, ed. E. Klostermann, Leipzig, 1904
de Lagarde *Onomastica sacra*, Göttingen, 1887
F-M Abel *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris, 1933
W. Albright *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, New York, 1935
S. Klein *Gälilaa von der Makkabäerzeit bis 67*, Wien, 1928; *The Land of Judah from the Babylonian Exile to the End of the Talmudic Period* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1939
G. Hölscher *Palästine in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit. Eine historisch-geographische Untersuchung*, Berlin, 1903
N. Glueck "Nabataean Syria and Nabataean Transjordan," Journal of American Oriental Society, 1938
A. Neubauer *La Geographie du Talmud*, Paris, 1868
G. A. Smith *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, London, 1932

GENERAL INDEX

(Page numbers in *italics* refer to the commentary accompanying the text.)

Abraham, 87
Achaean League, *148*, *201*, *234*
Achu, *112*
Adaran, *166*
Adasa, *142*, 143, 145
Adida, *208*, 209
Adora (Adoraim), *214*, 215
Aemilius Paulus, *146*
Ain Duk, *243*
Akiba, Rabbi, 251
Akir, *185*
Akko, *112*, *169*, *179*, *209*; *see also* Ptolemais
Akra. *See* Citadel
Akrabattene, *110*, 111
Alcimus: appointed High Priest by Lysias, *136–137;* policy of Menelaus followed by, *137;* oath of, not to harm the Hasidim, *138;* Israel governed by, 139, 141; second expedition of, into Israel, 153; Temple wall destroyed by, *163*, 165; death of, 165
Alema, 115, 117
Alexander Balas: birthplace of, *168;* declares himself king of Syria, 169, 261; capture of Ptolemais by, 169, 261; honors conferred on Jonathan by, 171, 179, 181, 185, *190;* loyalty of Jonathan to, 48, 177; battle of, with Demetrius, *170*, 177; Jonathan appointed High Priest by, 47, *157*, 171, *190;* recognized by Ptolemy Philometor as king, 46, *179;* alliance of, with Ptolemy, 179; marriage of, to Cleopatra, Ptolemy's daughter, 179; enmity of Ptolemy and, 185, 187, *188*, 262; assassination of, 35, *188*, 189, 261
Alexander the Great: conquests of, 1–2, 19, 69; army of, *69;* favor of, toward Jews of Judaea, 2; advocates Jerusalem as site of Temple, 2; annexation of districts to Judaea by, 2, *172;* capture of Gaza by, *198;* gives his ring to Perdiccas, *69*, *126;* divisions of empire of, 2, 3, 69; dates of, *68*, 264
Alexander Jannaeus, 247
Alexandria, 12
Ambri, sons of, *160*, 161
Ammon, *114*
Ammonites, battles against, 111
Ammonius, *185*
Amorites, *160*
Amos, *159*
Amwas, *96*
Antigonus, *70;* Phrygia obtained by, 2; defeated by Seleucus and Ptolemy, 3; Palestine and Babylon combined under, 4
Antigonus, the sage, 38
Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, 37
Antioch: built by Seleucus Nicator, *95;* royal palace at, *136;* Jason's plan to make Jerusalemites citizens of, *71;* battle of Antiochus and Philip at, 135; coronation of Ptolemy at, 187; rescue of Demetrius by the Jews at, 195, 197
"Antiochenes," 13, 18, 47, *137*
Antiochus, Scroll of, 60–61
Antiochus III the Great: invasion of Coele Syria by, 6, 7; Edict of Privileges issued by, 8; declares

the Temple inviolate, *173;* treaty of, with Ptolemy, 8–9; daughter of, married to Ptolemy V, 9; defeat of, by Romans, *146,* 147; tribute exacted from, *147;* death of, 9
Antiochus IV Epiphanes: held as hostage in Rome, 10, *70;* accession of, 71, *135,* 252, 259, 260; character of, 9–10; invasion of Egypt by, 10–11, 16–17, 71, *72,* 73; forced by Rome to retire from Egypt, 17, *148–149;* invasions of Judaea by, 73, 259, 262; policy of Hellenization of, 11, *124–125;* Greek gods adopted by, 11; and the Jews, 16–19; defilement of Temple by, 18, 73, 75, 77, *107, 108,* 262; dedication of Temple to Zeus by, 18, 52; pagan altar of, *76;* Mattathias's defiance of, 81, 83; march of, into Persia, 93, 95, 262; extravagance of, *94;* rout of, from Elymais, 123, 125; illness of, *124;* grief of, over Lysias's failures, 125; appoints Philip regent, 105, 125, *126,* 127; popularity of, *124;* murder of, 27, 127, 137, 253, 259, 260, 262
Antiochus V Eupator: derivation of surname of, 10; reared by Lysias, *94,* 95; Philip appointed regent for, *105,* 125, *126,* 127; made king by Lysias, 127; assassination of, 21, 23, 260
Antiochus VI Epiphanes: reared by Imalkue the Arab, 193; proclaimed king by Tryphon, 23, 35–36, *194,* 197; honors shown Jonathan by, 48, 197; recognition of, by Rome, postponed, 43; high priesthood conferred on Jonathan by, 48; murder of, by Tryphon, *216,* 217
Antiochus VII Sidetes: becomes king of Syria, 263; letter of, to Simon, 231, 233, 248; invasion of Judaea by, 231, 233, 263; not recognized as king by Rome, *234;* defeat of Tryphon by, 233, 237, 239; siege of Dor by, 233, 235, 237; Simon's help spurned by, 237
Antiochus VIII Grypus, 251
Antipater, son of Jason, 38, *201,* 205, 225
Apamea, *238*
Apelles, *83*
Aphaerema, 2, 47, *172*
Apollonius, *73;* called governor of Samaria, *90;* killed by Judah, 91
Apollonius, governor of Coele Syria, *167, 180–181;* Jonathan threatened by, 181, *182,* 183; tactics of, *183*
Arabah, *114*
Arabs: defeat of, by Jewish army, *100;* mercenaries, 117
Aradus, 235
Arbatta, *114,* 115
Arbela: battle of, *68, 69,* 153; Cave of, *153*
Areius, king of Sparta, 46, 203, 205
Ariarathes of Cappadocia (Philopator V), 41, 46, *145, 149, 234,* 235
Aristobulus, 37
Aristotle, *69*
Arnon River, *114*
Arsaces, 221, 223, *234,* 235
Artemis, temple of, *123, 125*
Ashdod, 101; villages around, *184;* conquered by Judah, 123; battle of, 183, 185; burned by Jonathan, *240;* John's victory at, 241
Asia Minor, *146*
Askalon (Askalun), *184,* 185, 199, 207
Asphar, pool of, 159
Assyria, *68*
Astarte, *76*
Atergatis, *119*
Athenians, defeat of Persians by, *100*
Athenobius, 237
Atonement, Day of, *173,* 255–256
Attalus of Pergamum, 46, *145,* 235, 259

Attalus II, *234*
Authority: of high priesthood, 5, 44; ring a symbol of, *69*, *126*
Azariah, 87
Azariah: left with Joseph to protect Judaea, 113; defeat of, at Jamnia, 57, 121
Azothus, Mount of, *156*

Babylonia: ruled by Seleucus, 2, 3; combined with Palestine, 4; Seleucid era in, *218–219*
Bacchides: Mesopotamia governed by, *137;* expedition of, to Judaea, 137, 139, *154;* massacre of the Hasidim by, *138;* victory of, at Mesaloth, 153; defeat of Judah by, at Elasa, 155, 157; persecution of the Jews by, 159; places Judaea in hands of Hellenized Jews, 159; meeting of, with Jonathan, *162;* victory of, over Jonathan, 161, *162*, 163; as ruler over Judaea, *162;* fortifications built by, 163; departure of, from Judaea, *164*, 165; in battle at Bethbasi, 165, 167
Baean, *110*, 111
Bascama, 215
Bedouin, *166*
Beirath, *154*
Beisan, *120*
Beit Rima, *192*
Beitin, *162*
Ben Sirah, 24, 32
Benjamites, *83*
Bersheba, *165*
Berzetho, *155*
Bet-din, *203*
Bethalaga, *165*
Bethbasi, battle at, 165, 167
Beth Dagon, *184*, 185
Bethel, *162*, 163
Beth Horon, *91*, 93, 143, *162*, 163
Beth Shean, *120*, 209
Beth Zur: battle at, 103, 129; fortification of, 111, 125, 163, 227; surrender of, to Lysias, *132;* taken over by Antiochus, 133; under Simon, 223
Bethzaith, 139
Beth Zechariah, battle of, 129, 133
Bethzetha, *139*
Biblical phraseology, 34
Bir ez-Za'feran, *159*
Bir-Selhub, *159*
Book of the House of the Hasmonaeans, 49, 60, *220–221*, 248, 249, 250
Books of the Maccabees, original titles of, 249–250; *see also* I Maccabees *and* II Maccabees
Bosor, 115, 117
Bosorra, 115, 117
Bride-purchase, *179*
Burial customs, *139*

Caleb, 87
Caninius Gallus, 254, 255, 256 n.
Caphar Salama, *140;* battle at, 141
Caria, *234*, 235
Carnaim, 115, 119
Casiana, *193*
Casphor, 115, 117
Cassander, *69*, *70*
Cassius, *188*
Cavalry, *239*, *240*
Cendebaeus, *238*, 239, 241
Cestius, *91*
Chaphenatha, 207, 209
Chariots, *146–147*
Chittim, *68*
Cilicia, *68*
Circumcision: disguised, 15, 71; banned, 18; by force, 87
Cis-Halys, *234*
Citadel: Judah's siege of, 127, 129; held by Syrians, *83*, *141;* fortified by Bacchides, 163; hostages held in, 163, 169; attacked by Jonathan, 189, 191; purified by Simon, 219, *220*, 221, 223; *see also* Temple
Claudius, 255
Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus

III: married to Ptolemy V, 9; death of, 16
Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy: wife of Alexander Balas, 179; wife of Demetrius II, 187; requests Antiochus VII to marry her and assume crown, *216*
Cnidus, 235
Codex Alexandrianus, 64
Codex Sangermanesis, 65
Codex Sinaiticus, 64
Codex Venetus, 64
Coele Syria: invaded by Ptolemy III, 3; Joseph made tax collector of, 5; conflict of Antiochus III and Ptolemy for, 6–7; given to Cleopatra as dowry, 9; governed by Apollonius, *167*, *180–181;* boundaries of, *181; see also* Syria
Coinage, right of, 14–15, *231–232*, 233; dating of, 258, 261
Commentaries on I Maccabees, 66
Corinth, *148*
Corsica, *148*
Cos, 235
Crete, *222*
Cyprus, *68*, *178*, *222*, 235
Cyrene, 235

Dagan (Dok), *243*
Daghestan, *181*
Dagon, temple of, 185
Damascus, *206*, 207, 253
Daniel, 32, 87
Darius, *68*, 69
Dathema, *111*, 113, *115*, *116*
David, 25, 32, *86*, 87
Debarim, 249
Dedication, Feast of. *See* Hanukkah
Delos, *234*, 235
Demetrius, son of Antigonus, 3
Demetrius I Soter: escape of, from Rome, *135*, 260; accession of, 135, 137, 261; Antiochus Eupator killed by, 260; expeditions against Judaea sent by, 137, 153; Rome's warning to, 153; alliance sought with Jonathan by, 46–47, 169; concessions of, to Jews, 47, 169, 173–177; defeat of Alexander by, 177; death of, *178*, 179, 261
Demetrius II Nicator: appoints Apollonius to subdue Judaea, 181; reappoints Appollonius to governorship, *181;* alliance of, with Ptolemy, 187; receives Cleopatra as wife, 187; becomes king, 189; friendship with Jonathan sought by, *190*, 191, 193, 195; concessions to Jews reaffirmed by, 48, 217; rebellion of troops against, 193, *194*, 195; estranged from Jonathan, *196*, 197, *211;* rivalry of Tryphon and, 35–36, 197; independence granted to Judaea by, 217, 219; confirms Simon in high priesthood, 229; arrested by Arsaces in Media, 221, 223; held captive in Persia, 223, *234*; marries Rhodogune, Mithridates' sister, *222;* letter from Lucius to, 43, *234*, 235
Demoteles, *203*
Deuteronomy, 249
Diaspora, Jews of the, 8 n.
Dio Cassius, 255
Diodorus, *135*
Diodotus. *See* Tryphon
Dionysus, Feast of, 51, 52
Diospolis, *192*
Diplomacy, 37, *191*, *194*
Divine name, avoidance of, 28, 32, 56, *92*, *102–103*
Dok, *242*, 243
Dor, battle at, 233, 235, 237

Edict of Privileges, 8
Egypt: given to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, 2; conflict of, over Palestine, 6–8; invasions of, by Antiochus, 10–11, 16–17, 71, *72*, 73; Antiochus forced out of, 17, *148–149;* see also kings of Ptolemaic dynasty
Ekron, 185, *196*
Elasa, *154–155*, 155

El-Bireh, *154*
Eleazar, brother of Simon the Just, 44 n.
Eleazar Auaran, son of Mattathias, 79; duty of, *99;* death of, 131; surname of, corrupted, 252
Eleazar Hagodal, 251 n.
Elephants, battle, *71, 128–131,* 129, 131, *146*
el Helu, *161*
el Tibne, *163*
Eliakim, *136*
Elijah, 87
Eleutherus River, *187, 205*
Elle Addebarim, 249
Elymais, 123
Emalchus, *193*
Emmaus: location of, *96, 162;* battle of Judah and Gorgias at, 101, 103; fortification of, 163
Engines of war, 129, 133, 165, 189, 219, 237
Enoch, Book of, 25
Ephebi, 71
Ephors, *224*
Ephraim, *192,* 193
Ephron, battle of, 119, 121
Epirots, *146*
Esdud, *101*
Essenes, *85*
Esther, Book of, read on Purim, 61
et-Taiyibet, *192*
Eulaeus the eunuch, *72*
Eumenes I of Pergamum, 149, 259
Eumenes II, *147, 149*
Eupolemus, 38, 151
Extradition, right of, 42 n., *234*

Fast days, *173,* 255–256
Ferata, *163*
Festivals, Jewish, 51–54, 61, 62; twofold character of, 51; *see also* Hannukah, Passover, Purim, Tabernacles, Feast of, *and* Unleavened Bread, Festival of
Florence, Council of, 64
Frederick Babarossa, 251
Friend of the King, *80–81, 180*

Gabinius, 37
Galilee, *153, 172, 191,* 211; Simon's expedition into, 113, 115; Sea of, *199*
Gaugamela, *68*
Gaul, Roman exploits in, 145, 147
Gaza: location of, *198;* battle of, 199, 252, 254, 258
Gazara: location of, *101;* battle at, 145; fortification of, 163, 227; siege of, by Simon, 219; home of Simon, 219, 221, 223; claimed by Antiochus VII, 237
Gedereth, *239*
Gennesaret, 199
Gentiles, 29 n., *76, 163*
Gephrum, *119*
Gerousia, 7, 8, *109, 202*
Gilead: Judah's expedition into, 111–119; Tryphon at, 215
Gilgal, 153
Goliath, *104*
Gorgias: expedition of, against Judah, 95–103; defeat of, 101, 103, *124;* described, *120;* defeat of Joseph and Azariah by, 121
Gortyna, 235
Great Synagogue, 44, *227,* 248
Greece, war of, with Romans, 149
Greek influence. *See* Hellenism
Guerrilla warfare, 36, 37
Gymnasium, *71;* established in Jerusalem, 15, 38, 71

Hadrian, 31
Haggai, *106, 158, 163, 229*
Hakkoz, *150,* 151
Halicarnassus, 235
Hamath (Hamah), *204;* rout of Demetrius's army at, 205, 207
Hananiah, 87
Hannibal, *146*
Hanukkah, 51–54, 62, *109;* origin of, 51, 60–61; choice of date for, 52; a commemoration of rededication of Temple, 53
Hasdrubal, *144, 146*
Hashmanim, 249

Hasidim: opposition of, to Hellenism, 18–19; martyrdom of, 19; Mattathias joined by, 85; lack of sympathy of, with Hasmonaean policy, *85*, *138*
Hasmonaeans: beginning of era of, *218;* origin of name, 247, 248–249; chosen to save the people of Israel, 25, *121;* high priesthood assigned to, 31; Judaean independence sought by, 36, *189;* in rabbinic and patristic literature, 61–63, 247–249; Book of, 49, 60, *220–221*, 248, 249, 250
Hazor, plain of, 199, 201
Hebraisms, *68, 69, 70, 73, 76, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 89, 92, 94, 99, 100, 111, 139, 140, 151, 152, 155, 156, 164, 190, 209, 243*
"Hebrew," avoidance of, in I Maccabees, 28–29
Hebron, *122;* destruction of, 123
Hegesippus, 60 n.
Helena of Adiabene, *126*
Heliades, *188*
Heliodorus, 9, 13–14, 259
Heliopolis, temple of Onias at, 15
Hellenism: in Judaea, 2, 6, 12–13, 14–16, 18, 19, 38, *75;* religion an element in, 11; sources for history of, 34–35; of Hebrew months, 56; *see also* Jews, Hellenized
Herod, 254, 256
Hezekiah, 52, 53–54
Hierax, *188*
High priesthood: authority of, 5, 44; the office itself, 44, *170–171;* held by: Onias II, 4, 5; Jason (Joshua), 15–16, 18, *73, 171;* Menelaus, 16, 18, *73, 171;* Eleazar, brother of Simon the Just, 44 n.; Manasses, 44 n.; Onias, son of Simon the Just, 44 n.; Jonathan, 46, 47, 48, *157*, 171, *190*, 197, *200;* Alcimus, *136*, 137; Simon Thassi, 29, 31, 44, *226*, 229, 231
Hippos, *112*
Holy fire, miracle of the, 54
Hostages: taken by Bacchides, *163;* held in the citadel, 163, 169; Roman system of, *163;* release of, *189;* taken by Jonathan, *198–199*
Hyrcanus, son of Joseph, 6; pro-Egyptian policy of, 7, 12
Hyrcanus I. *See* John Hyrcanus
Hyrcanus II, son of Alexander, 263

Iamblichus, *193*
"Idols" used for "deities," *124*
Idumaea: rout of Lysias's army in, 103, 105; fortification of, 111
Imalkue the Arab, 193
Immortality, doctrine of, 25
India, 147; elephants from, *131*
Indus River, 147 n.
Iolles, *69*
Ipsus, battle of, 3
"Israel," "Israelites," beginning of use of, 29; *see also* Jews
Issus, battle of, 2, *68*

Jabneh, *101*
Jakeimos, *136*
Jamnia, 101, 239; defeat of Joseph and Azariah at, 121; Apollonius at, 181
Jason (Joshua), son of Joseph, 6, 13; as High Priest, 15–16, *171;* attack of Jerusalem by, 18; struggle of, with Menelaus, 18, *73;* asks permission to make Jerusalemites citizens of Antioch, *71*
Jason, son of Eleazar, 38, 151
Jason of Cyrene, 28, 54
Jazer, capture of, by Judah, 111
Jericho, *162*, 163; plain of, *241*
Jerusalem: location of, *105;* advocated by Alexander as site of Temple, 2; as seat of head tax collector, 5; Hellenization in, 14–15, 16, 18, 19; importance of, in world commerce, 14; gymnasia in, 15, 38, 71; attacks on, by Jason and Antiochus, 18; becomes a colony of Syria, 18; despoiled by

Antiochus Epiphanes, 73, 75, *108;* entrance of Judah's army into, to rebuild and purify the sanctuary, 105, 107; fortification of Mount Zion in, 109, 125, 135, 169; civil war in, *139;* Nicanor's scorn at Mount Zion, 141, 143; Bacchides' encampment at, 155; rebuilt and restored by Jonathan, 169; Jonathan's headquarters established in, *169;* fortified, 207, 213; siege of, by Simon, *214;* inscription to Simon on Mount Zion, 227–231; destruction of, in 38 BCE, 254–255, 256; siege of, by Romans, in 66–70 CE, *133; see also* Citadel *and* Temple

Jewish Commonwealth, *229*

Jews: contribution of I Maccabees to history of, 36; avoidance of terms "Hebrew" and "Jew" in I Maccabees, 28–29, *82, 195;* support of Seleucids by, 3–4; pro-Egyptian policy of, 6; resistance of, to worshiping Greek gods, 11; community of, in Egypt, 12; abandonment of Judiasm by, 12–13, 14, 71, 75, 77; attitude of, toward Rome, 30–31; extradition of, 42 n.; persecution of, under Antiochus Epiphanes, 73–81; irreligious, *74–75;* massacre of those who resisted, 79, 85; granted religious freedom by Lysias, *134, 136;* not represented by council, *150;* persecution of, by Bacchides, 159; released from taxes and tribute, *172,* 173–177, 217, 219, 231–233; immunity granted to, *174;* modern, defeat of Arab armies by, *100*

Jews, Hellenized: support of Antiochus by, 7, 38, *97,* 127, 129; support of Bacchides by, *158;* slain by Bacchides, *167;* Demetrius favored by, *189;* regarded as rebels, *234*

Joarib, 44 n., *78, 79,* 248, 249

John Gaddi, son of Mattathias, 79, 251; placed in command of irregulars, 159; murder of, 161

John Hyrcanus (son of Simon), 27, 28, 239, 241, 243, 247, 248, 263; home of, in Gazara, *219;* made general of all the troops, 221

Jonathan, son of Absalom, 213

Jonathan, son of Saul, *167*

Jonathan Apphus, son of Mattathias, 79, 252; importance of, in I Maccabees, 247; grouped with Jonathan and Simon as "Hashmanim," 249; expedition of, with Judah into Gilead, 113, 115; Judah's body taken away by, *156,* 157; leadership of the Jews assumed by, 159, *167;* battle of, with Bacchides at the Jordan, 161, *162,* 163, *166;* fortification of Bethbasi by, 165; Odomera and the tribe of Phasiron killed by, 167; proposal of peace by, to Bacchides, 167; Hellenized Jews punished by, *167;* as governor over Judaea, 169,181; Jerusalem restored by, 169; alliance of, with Alexander Balas, 37, 46, 47, 177, 179, 181, 185; appointed High Priest by Alexander Balas, 46, 47, *157,* 171, *200;* Joppa taken by, 183; in battle at Ashdod, 183, 185; meeting of, with Ptolemy at Joppa, 187; siege of the citadel by, 189, 191; conference of, with Demetrius II at Ptolemais, 191; friendship of, with Demetrius, 191–195; estranged from Demetrius, 197; confirmed in high priesthood by Antiochus VI, 48, 197; Syrian army rallies around, 199; siege of Gaza by, 199; battle of, with the heathen on the plain of Hazor, 199, 201; friendship with Rome renewed by, 57, 201, 205; exchange of letters between Spartans and, 45–46, 201–205; Demetrius forced to retreat by,

205, 207; defeat of Zabadaeans by, 207; journey of, to Damascus, 207; meeting of, with Tryphon, 209; arrested at Ptolemais, 209, 211; ransom of, sought by Simon, 213; killed by Tryphon, 37, 43, 215; praise of, on inscription, 227–231
Joppa, *191;* captured by Jonathan Apphus, 183; meeting of Ptolemy and Jonathan at, 187; capture of, by Simon, 207, 223; taken by Jonathan, son of Absalom, *212,* 213; made a harbor by Simon, 223; fortification of, 227; claimed by Antiochus VII, 237
Joseph, 87
Joseph, son of Tobiah: alliance with Ptolemies favored by, 4, 5; civil leadership assumed by, 5, 13; appointment of, as tax collector, 5, 6, 13
Joseph, son of Zechariah: left in Judaea to guard it, 113; defeat of, at Jamnia, 57, 121
Joshua, 87
Joshua (Jason). *See* Jason (Joshua), son of Joseph
Josippon, 33, 58–60, 64, 247
Judaea: three districts of, *96;* plain of, *101;* provinces annexed to, 2, 47, *172,* 173, *174–175,* 193, *236;* dispute of Seleucids and Ptolemies over, 3, 4; internal struggle in, 11–16, 37–38; privileges granted to, by Demetrius II, 193; fortification of, 163, 207, *216,* 217, 227; independence of, 36, 48, *194, 217, 218,* 219, *231,* 257, 262; made a Roman province, 37
"Judaeans," use of term, 29 n.
Judah, Rabbi, 31
Judah, son of Simon, 241, 243
Judah Maccabee, son of Mattathias, 79; derivation of surname of, 49, 250–252; title of Book of Maccabees derived from, 247; grouped with Jonathan and Simon as "Hashmanim," 249; appointed to leadership of struggle against Antiochus, 19, 36, 89, 91; political acumen of, 37; Apollonis killed by, 91; defeat of Seron by, 93; fame of, 93, 123; before the battle at Mizpeh, 55–56, 97, 99; division of his army by, *98–99;* Gorgias defeated by, at Emmaus, 101, 103; defeat of Lysias at Beth Zur by, 105; sanctuary rebuilt and purified by, 51, 52, 105, 107; consecration of altar by, 109; Mount Zion fortified by, 109; Beth Zur fortified by, 111, victories of, in Idumaea and Gilead, 111–119; capture of Ephron by, 119, 121; destruction of Hebron and Ashdod by, 123; siege of the citadel by, 127, 129; at battle of Beth Zechariah, 129, 131, 133; wins religious freedom for the Jews from Lysias, *134;* persecution of Hellenized Jews by, *136;* accused by Alcimus, 141; battle of, with Nicanor at Capharsalama, 141; defeat of Nicanor by, at Adasa, 143, 145; alliance with Rome sought by, 151; abandoned by Rome in his fight with Demetrius, *153;* battle of, against Bacchides and Alcimus, 155, 157; death of, 157
Judaism: use of term for religion of the Jews, 28; gradual forsaking of, by Jews, 12–13, 14, 71, 75, 77 (*see also* Hellenization); suppression of, 16, 18, 19
Judas, son of Chalphi, 201

Kadesh, *199,* 201
Kanduba, *238*
Katra, *239*
Kedesh-Naphtali, *199*
Kedron, 239, *240,* 241
Khirbet 'Adaseh, *142*
Khirbet Beit-bassa, *165*

Kidneys, regarded as seat of deliberation, *82*
Kinneret, *199*
Kiriath Apha, *122*
Kitio, *68*

Laomedon, Syria obtained by, 2 n.
Larnaca, *68*
Lasthenes, 48, 191
Leptines, *129*
Letters: use of, in I Maccabees, 38–48; authenticity of, 8 n., 45; Antiochus to Ptolemy, governor of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, 8; Antiochus to Zeuxis, 8 n.; Antiochus Eupator to Lysias, *134;* Rome to the Jews, 151, 153; Alexander Balas to Jonathan, 171; Demetrius I to the Jews, 171–177; Demetrius II to Jonathan, 191, 193; between Jonathan and the Spartans, 201–205; Areius to Onias, 205; Demetrius II to Simon, 217, 219; Sparta to Simon, 225; Antiochus VII to Simon, 231, 233, 248; Lucius to neighboring states, 41, 42, 43, 233, 235
Leviticus, 249
Lights, Festival of. *See* Hanukkah
Lucianic and non-Lucianic groups of MSS, 64–65
Lucius, consul of the Romans, 233; letters from, 41, 42, 43, 233, 235
Lucius Calpurnius Piso, 41
Ludd, *192*
Lycia, 235, *238*
Lydda (Lod), 2, 47, *172*, *192*, 193
Lydia, 147
Lysias: deputized by Antiochus to subdue Judaea, 95; as regent, 95, *126*, *127;* expedition of, against Judah, 103, 105, 125; return of, to Antioch, 27, 133; makes Antiochus Eupator king, 127, 260; use of battle elephants by, *130;* Beth Zur surrendered to, *132–133;* treaty with the Jews suggested by, 36, 133, 135; Alcimus appointed High Priest by, *136;* death of, *134*, 137
Lysimachus, *70*

"Maccabeans," 60 n.
Maccabee, the name, 250–252; *see also* Judah Maccabee, I Maccabees, *and* II Maccabees
I Maccabees: analysis of, 19–24; summarized, 19–24, *220–221;* authorship of, 24–26; historical errors in, 26, 27; date of composition, 27–33; last three chapters of, added later, 29–30, 32; language of, 33–34, 42–43, 49; historical value of, 34–38; state documents used in, 38–48; title of, 48–49, 60, 247–250; chronology, 49–50, *226*, 252–254; religious aspects of, 50–54; literary affinites of, 55–61; declared canonical, 63–64; manuscripts and editions of, 64–66; sabbatical cycles in, 254–257; Seleucid era in, 257–261
II Maccabees: events in proper sequence in, 27–28; language of, 33; textual corruption in proem of, 54; declared canonical, 63–64; chronology in, 252–254
Macedonia, *68;* annexed by Rome, 17, *146*
Macedonian calendar, 255, 262–263
Magnesia, battle of, 26, *70*, *128*, *129–130*, *145*, *146*
Maked, 115, 117
Malachi, *106*, *158*, *229*
Malchus, *193*
Manasses, 44 n.
Manlius Vulso, *145*
Marathon, *100*
Marcus Agrippa, 254, 255, 256 n.
Marisa, *122*, 123
Mattathias, called "Hasmonaeus," 249; genealogy of, 247, 248; native to Jerusalem, *78*, *79;* as leader of revolt of Israel, 19, 36, 79–87; decision of, to permit fighting on

the Sabbath, 25–26; speech to his sons, 32, 55, 87, 89; death of, 69, 262; burial of, in Modin, *78*, 89, *215*
Mattathias, son of Absalom, 201
Mattathias, son of Simon, *239*, 243
Medaba, *160*, 161
Media, *95*, 147, 221
Megillat Antiochus, 60–61
Menelaus Onias, son of Joseph, 6; as leader of Hellenistic party, 13, 18; struggle of, with Jason, 16, *73*, *171;* subservience of, to Antiochus, 18; revolt of the Jews against, *73;* of a high priestly family, *137;* execution of, *136*
Mercenary troops, 129; Arab, 117; Jewish, *174*
Mesaloth, 153
Mesanisse, *234*
Meshukim, 71
Mesopotamia, *137*
Michmash, Jonathan's headquarters at, 169
Middle Ages, use of war engines in, *133*
Mishael, 87
Mishna, 62
Mishneh Torah, 249
Mithridates I (Arsaces VI), *221*, *222*
Mizpeh, 97
Modin: location of, *79;* burial of Mattathias in, *78*, *88*, 89, *215;* burial of Judah in, 157; cenotaph built by Simon in, 215, 217; battle of Cendebaeus against John and Judah at, 241
Monobazus, *126*
Monotheism, 11, *125*
Mordecai, Day of, *143*
Mukhmas, *167*
Myndos, *234*, 235
Mysia, *147*

Nabataeans, *114*, 115, 159
Naby Samuil, *97*
Nadabath (Nabath), *160*
Names: derivation of, from physical characteristics, 49, 251–252; Hellenization of, 6, 12, 38
Nana, temple of, *123*
Narbata, *114*
Narva, *100*
Natai, *153*
Nationalism, Jewish, *157*
Negeb, *164*
Nicanor: sent by Lysias against the Jews, 95; battle of, with Judah, at Caphar Salama, 141; at Mount Zion, 141, *142*, 143; defeat of, at Adasa, *124*, 143; death of, *143*, *144*, 145, *154*
Nicopolis, *96*
Norbanus, 255
Numenius, son of Antiochus, 38, 41, 43, *201*, 205, 225, 233

Obligatio, principle of, *176*
Octavius, *128*, *129*, 260
Odomera, *166*, 167
Olympiads: Josephus and, *77*, 262–263; reckoning of, 254, 255
Onias, son of Jaddus, 203, 205
Onias, son of Simon the Just, 44 n.
Onias II: alliance of, with Seleucus against Ptolemy, 4; leadership relinquished by, 5
Onias III: support of Ptolemies by, 12, 13; conflict of, with Simon, 13–14; opposition of, to Hellenic culture, 14; temple of Onias built by, 15
Onias (Menelaus). *See* Menelaus Onias, son of Joseph
Orthosia, *238*, 239

Palestine: invasion of, by Ptolemy, son of Lagus, 2–3; combined with Babylon, 4; dispute of Syria and Egypt over, 3, 4, 6–8, 9; reckoning the Seleucid era in, 258; *see also* Judaea
Pamphylia, *231*, 235
Panion, battle of, 7
Parthians, revolt against, *221*
Passover, *203*

Paul, 42 n.
Peace, symbol of, *134*
Pentecost, *203*
Perdiccas, 2 n., *69*, *126*
Perseus, king of Chittim, *146*, 147
Persia, *95*, *100*, *123*, *125*, 221
Peshitta, 65
Pharathon, 163
Pharasaic doctrine, 26
Phaselis, 235
Phasiron, tribe of, *166*, 167
Philip: appointed regent for Antiochus V, 27, *105*, 125, *126*, 127, 133; opposition of, to Lysias, 36; battle of, with Antiochus at Antioch, 135; capture and death of, *134*
Philip the Fair, 251
Philip III of Macedonia, *146*, 147
Philistines, *96–97*, *122*, 123, *167*
Philopoemen, *131*
Phineas, 83, 87
Phoenicia, invasion of, by Ptolemy, son of Lagus, 2–3
Phrygia, given to Antigonus, 2
"Pious, the." *See* Hasidim
Polytheism, 11, *125*
Pompey, 37, 256
Popillius Laenas, 17, *149*, 259
Prayers, 50–51, *109*
Prophets: false, 30; last of, *106*, *158*, *229*
Psalms of Solomon, 25
Ptolemaic dynasty, 264
Ptolemais: described, *112–113;* Simon's victory at, 115, 121; taken by Alexander Balas, 169, 261; headquarters of Alexander, *175;* given to the Temple, 47, 175; given to Jonathan by Demetrius I, *196*, *209;* wedding of Cleopatra and Alexander at, 179; conference of Jonathan and Demetrius II at, *190*, 191; Jonathan arrested at, 209, 211
Ptolemy, son of Ababus: plot of, against Simon, 241; murder of Simon by, 243
Ptolemy, son of Lagus, 2, *70;* invasion of Palestine and Phoenicia by, 2–3
Ptolemy Kokkes, 251
Ptolemy Macron, son of Dorymenes, 95
Ptolemy II Philadelphus, 3
Ptolemy III Euergetes: invasion of Coele Syria by, 3; treaty of, with Seleucus II, 3; tribute exacted by, from Palestine, 4; death of, 6
Ptolemy IV Philopator: conflict of, with Antiochus III, 6; attitude of Palestinian Jews toward, 6–7
Ptolemy V Epiphanes: defeat of, by Antiochus III, 7–8, 16; treaty of, with Antiochus, 8–9; marriage of Cleopatra to, 9
Ptolemy VI Philometor: conflicting stories on, 56–57; flight of, to Samothrace, *72;* defeat of, by Antiochus IV, 73; Roman alliance with, *145;* opposition of, to Demetrius, *178*, *179;* allied with Alexander Balas, 46, 179; daughter of, married to Alexander, 179; estranged from Alexander, 185, *186*, 187; receives Jonathan in state, 187; alliance of, with Demetrius II, 187; gives Cleopatra, his daughter, to Demetrius as wife, 187; kingship of Egypt and Asia assumed by, 187; Alexander defeated by, *188*, 189, 261; death of, *188*, 189
Ptolemy VII Physcon, 251; letter from Lucius to, 41, 233
Purim, 61, *143*
Purple, significance of, *102*, *149*, *171*
Pydna, battle of, 17, *146*, 259

Rabbat-Ammon, *114*
Ramathaim, 2, 47, *172*, *192*, 193
Rametha, *111*
Raphia, battle of, 6
Raphon, *116*, 117, 119
Ras-en Nakurah, *197*
Ras Medieh, *79*

Recensions of I Maccabees, 65
Recutiti, *71*
Religion: as element in Hellenism, 11; aspects of, in I Maccabees, 50–54
Remembrance, day of, *203*
Rhodes, *222*, 235
Rhodogune, *222*
Rome: conquests of, 10–11, 17, 145–149; attitude of Jews toward, 30–31; imperial policy of, 37, 40; dual policy of, 40, *148*, *152*, *153;* peace treaty of, with Antiochus III, *128;* opposed to annexation of Egypt by Antiochus IV, 17, *148–149;* friendly relations of, with Jews in Palestine, 37, 39–43, 151, *152*, 201, 225, *228–229*, 233, 235; gifts to, 41–42, 43, 225; use of war engines by, *133;* tribute exacted by, *147;* alliance of Eumenes with, *147;* government in, 149; letter from, to the Jews, 151, 153; hostage system in, *163;* Judaea made a province of, 37
Roman calendar, 258–259
Rophana, *116–117*
Russians, defeat of, by Swedes, *100*

Sabbath: non-resistance on, 2–3, *84*, 85, *161;* warfare permitted on, to prevent annihilation, 25–26, 85
Sabbatical cycles, 253, 254–257, 263
Sadducees, 25
Samaria, *90*, *122*, *172*
Samos, 235
Samothrace, *72*
Sampsames (Samsun), *234*, 235
Samuel Hakotan, 251 n.
Sanballat, 2
Sanhedrin, *203*, *207*
Sarbeth Sabanaiel, 248
Sardinia, *148*
Saul, 25, *167*
Scipio, *144*
Scopas, victory of, over Antiochus, 7
Scythopolis, *120*
Second Commonwealth, *221*
Sefar Bet Hashmonaim, 249
Seleucia by the sea, *187*
Seleucid dynasty, 264
Seleucid era, 3, 49, *70*, *77*, *218*, 252, 257–261; Josephus and, 262–263
Seleucus I Nicator: Babylonia obtained by, 2, 3, *70;* defeat of Demetrius by, 3, 258; Palestine and Babylon combined under, 4; Antioch built by, *95*
Seleucus II Callinicus, 3
Seleucus III, Soter, 6
Seleucus IV Philopator: reign of, 9; tribute levied on, 147; assassination of, by Heliodorus, 259
Sennacherib, *143*
Seron, *90;* expedition of, against Judah, 91, 93; defeat of, *124;* death of, *93*
Shephelah, *209*, *210*
Sicarii, 31
Sicily, *148*
Sicyon, *234*, 235
Side, *230–231*, 235
Simon, son of Joseph, 6, 13; conflict of, with Onias III for economic power, 13–14; Hellenization of, 14
Simon II the Just, 7, 8 n., 12, 44 n.
Simon Pikoli, 251
Simon Psellus, 251
Simon Shikamonah, 251
Simon Thassi, son of Mattathias, 79, 251–252; importance of, in Book of Maccabees, 247; grouped with Judah and Jonathan as "Hashmanim," 249; appointed to be counsel to his people, 89; Judah's body taken away by, *156*, 157; flees to Tekoa, 159; avenges murder of John, 161; in battle of Bethbasi, 165, 167; in battle of Ashdod, 183, *184*, 185; capture of Beth Zur by, 199; Joppa taken by, 207, 223; building of Adida by, 209; leadership assumed by, 211, 213; tries to ransom Jonathan, 213; monument built by, at Modin, 215, 217; fortifications

built by, 217, 227; peace with, sought by Demetrius, 37, 217, 219; achieves Judaean independence, 19, *217*, *218*, 219; siege of Gazara by, 219; settles in Gazara, 219, 221, 223; citadel purified by, *220*, 221; as ruler of the Jews, 44, 197, *203*, *212*, 223, 225; friendship of, with Rome, 225, 233, 235; inscription to, on Mount Zion, 227–231; titles conferred on, 44, 48, 227, 248; appointed High Priest, 29, 31, 44, *226*, 229, 231; Antiochus estranged from, 237; speech to his sons, 239; Ptolemy's plot against, 241, 243; assassination of, 243, 254, 263
Snowfall, *215*
Soferim, *138*
Sorega, *106*
Sosius, 254, 256
Spain, Roman conquests in, *146*, 147
Sparta: exchange of letters between Jonathan and, 45–46; friendship of Israel and, 201–205, 225; ruled by the Ephors, *224;* a free city, *234;* Lucius's message to, 235
Swedes, defeat of Russians by, *100*
Swine, sacred, *76*
Synedrion, *203*
Syria: given to Laomedon, 2 n.; "Hollow," 3 n.; and Egypt, conflict of, over Palestine, 3, 4, 6–8; reverting of Palestine to, 7–8; reckoning the Seleucid era in, 258; civil wars in, 258; *see also* Coele Syria *and names of various kings*

Tabernacles, Feast of, 51, 53, 54, *203*
Tantura, *233*
Tappuah, *163*
Taxation, *172*, *175*, *176*
Tekoa, 159
Teku'a, *159*
Tel Aviv, *91*
Tell Bazuk, *215*
Temple: Jerusalem the site of, 2; curtain in, *72;* Courts in, *163;* support of, received mainly from Babylonian and Persian Jews, 4; defiled by Ahaz, 52; purified and rededicated by Hezekiah, 52; defilement of, by Antiochus Epiphanes, 73, 77, *107*, *108*, 262; dedicated to Zeus, 18, 52; purified and rededicated by Judah Maccabee, 27, 105–109, 247, 257, 262; disposal of stones of, by Judah, 30; undressed masonry for altar in, *106–107;* rededication of, celebrated in Hanukkah, 51–54; fortification of Mount Zion, 109, 125, 135, 169; as place of asylum, *176–177;* Second, destruction of, 254, 257
Tephon, 163
Thessalians, *146*
Thracians, *146*
Tiberias, *205*
Timarchus, king of Babylonia, 40, *153*
Timnath, *162*, 163
Timotheus, 111, 113, 117, *118*
Tithes, *98*
Tob, Land of, *112*
Tobias family, 6, 13, 14
Toparchies, 22, *110*, *172*
Torah, 14
Torat Kohanim, 249
Transjordania, *110*, *111*
Trent, Council of, 64
Tripolis, *135*
Tryphon, Rabbi, 38
Tryphon (Diodotus); birthplace of, *193;* conflict of, with Demetrius II, 35–36, 193, 195, 197; revolt of, against Alexander, 193, 195; Antiochus VI made king by, *194*, 197; meeting of, with Jonathan, 209; expedition of, into Judaea, 36, 211, 213, 215; assassination of Jonathan by, 37, 215; treachery of, 213, 215, 217; Antiochus killed by, *216*, 217; declares himself king of Asia, *216*, 217; not

recognized by Rome, 43; defeated by Antiochus VII, 233, 237, 239; escape of, to Apamea, *238*
Tubias, *112*, 113

Unleavened Bread, Festival of, 51, 52, 53–54

V (Latin translation of I Maccabees), 65
Va-Yikra, 249
Vespasian, *208*

Wady el-Arish, *197*
Wine: called blood, *129;* given to elephants before battle, *129*

Yeshimon, *83*

Zabadaeans, defeat of, by Jonathan, 207
Zabdiel (Zabelius), 35, *188*, 189
Zabdini, *206*
Zakkai, Rabban Johanan ben, 31
Zealots, *139*
Zechariah, *106*, *158*, *163*, *229*
Zeus Olympius, dedication of the Temple to, 18, 52
Zimri, son of Salom, 83
Zion, Mount. *See* Jerusalem

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND BOOKS CITED OR QUOTED

(Page numbers in *italics* refer to the commentary accompanying the text.)

Abel, *111, 142, 153, 154, 155, 165*
Abraham ibn Ezra, 62
Adversus Judaeos (Tertullian), quoted, 63
Alexander (Plutarch), *69*
Anabasis of Alexander (Arrian), 2 n., *69*
Anciennes Traductions Latines des Machabées, Les (Bruyne and Sodar), 65
Annales Compendiarii Regum et Rerum Syriae, Viennae (Froelich), 258 n., 260 n., 261 n.
Antiochus, Scroll of, 60–61
Antiquities (Marcus), *206*
Antiquities of the Jews, The (Josephus), 3 n., 4 n., 7 n., 8 n., 9 n., 15 n., 41, 45 n., 47 n., 55, 57 n., 65, *76, 77, 78, 83, 114, 116, 122, 126, 136, 138, 165, 173, 198, 199, 202, 203,* 247, 248, 254 n., 255 n., 260 n., 261 n., 262, 263; quoted, 5 n., *141,* 262 n., 263 n.
Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, The (Charles Edition), 25 n., 28 n., 41 n., 45 n., 47 n., 48 n., 57 n., 66
Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen de Alten Testaments (Kautzsch), 66
Appian, 2 n., 9 n., 10, 35, *127, 128, 146, 231,* 259, 260; quoted, *129*
Aptowitzer, V., 31 n.
Arrian, 2 n., *69, 70*
Augustine, *136;* quoted, 63, *137*
Babelon, M. Ernest, 258 n., 261
Bahur, Elijah, 249
Ben Sirah, 32
Bevan, E., 3 n.
Bévenot, H., 66, *215*
Bible, *74. See also various books of the Bible*
Bickermann, E., 8 n.
Bruyne, D., 65
Büchler, A., 8 n.

Cambridge Bible, The (Fairweather and Black), 66
Caro, Joseph ben Ephraim, 257 n.
Chronica Regum Macedonum (Porphyry), 263 n.
II Chronicles, 51 n., 52 n., 54 n., *159*
Chronicon Hieronymo Interprete (Eusebius), 263 n.
City of God, The (Augustine), quoted, 63, *137*
Clinton, H., 255 n., 260 n.
Commentary on Daniel (Hippolytus), 64 n., 65, *133*
Cyprian, 65

Daniel, Book of, 25, 32, *108;* quoted, 9, *134*
Daniel, Commentary on (Hippolytus), 64 n., 65, *133*
Derenbourg, 53 n.
Destinon, Justus von, 29 n.
Deuteronomy, *114, 118*
Dio Cassius, 255
Diodorus, 2 n., 3 n., 10, 35, 40, 41, 56, *69, 70, 188, 193, 198*
Droysen, 253 n.

EB, 57 n., *159*
Ecclesiastical History (Eusebius), 248
Epistle to the Romans (Origen), quoted, 64
Erste Buch der Maccabäer, Das (Grimm), 66, *83*, *225*, *234*
Essai sur l'Histoire (Derenbourg), 53 n.
Eusebius, *79*, *91*, *101*, *103*, *111*, *112*, *115*, *127*, *162*, *216*, 248, 258 n., 259, 260, 261, 263
Ewald, *119*
Exodus, 51n., *176*
Ezra, *170*

Fairweather, W., and Black, J. S., 66
Fasti Hellenici (Clinton), 255 n., 260 n.
Fisher, 255 n.
Frag. his. Graec. (Müller), 263 n.
Fragments (Diodorus), 10 n., 35, 41 n., 56 n.
Frankel, I., 66
Fritsche, 66
Froelich, Erasmo, 258 n., 260, 261

Galilaa vor d. Makkabaerzeit I (Klein), *114*
Genesis, *162*
Geschichte (Ewald), *119*
Geschichte (Schürer), *141*, *238*, 253 n., 255 n.
Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten (Niese), 3 n.
Geschichte des Hellenismus (Droysen), 253 n.
Grimm, 66, *83*, *225*, *234*

Halakhot Gedolot, 32
Handbuch der Chronologie (Ideler), 252 n., 253 n., 258 n.
HDB, 57 n.
Hegesippus, 60 n.
Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments, Die (Bévenot), 66
Hellenistische Mysterienreligion und das Alte Testament (Kittel), 51 n.
Hexapla, Origen's, 249
Hieronymus ad Daniel, quoted, 258 n.
Hildesheimer, 32 n.
Hillel, 26
Hippolytus, 64, 65, *133*, 249; quoted, *134*
History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, A (Bevan), 2 n., 3 n.
History of the Second Jewish Commonwealth, The (Zeitlin), 3 n., 13 n., 15 n.
Holmes and Parsons, 65, 66
Horace, quoted, *118–119*
House of Seleucus, The (Bevan), 3 n.

Ideler, 252 n., 253 n., 258 n.
Imp. Romanum (Taubler), *151*, *152*
Introduction to I Maccabees (Oesterley, in Charles), 25 n., 28 n., 41 n., 45 n., 47 n., 48 n., 57 n.
Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte (Wellhausen), 51 n.

Jason of Cyrene, 28, 54
JBL, *156*
Jerome, 33; quoted, 63 n.
Jewish Antiquities. See Antiquities of the Jews, The (Josephus)
JQR, 51 n., 52 n.
Jewish War, The (Josephus), 30 n., 58, 60 n., *83*, *107*, *108*, *139*, *192*, *197*, *199*, *202*, *241*, 248, 255 n.
Jews and the Greeks, The (Tscherikower), 8 n.
Joel, quoted, 59
Josephus, 3 n., 4 n., 7 n., 8 n., 47, 65, *84*, *90*, *97*, *99*, *101*, *105*, *107*, *109*, *116*, *126*, *128*, *134*, *135*, *142*, *153*, *156*, *157*, *160*, *161*, *162*, *168*, *192*, *209*, *215*, *216*, *219*, *220*, *231*, *239*, *241*, *242*, 247, 248, 251; quoted, 5 n., *78*, *90–91*, *93*, *121*, *125*, *131*, *136*, *141*, *166*, *171*, *173*, *174*, *181*, *191*, *193*, *197*, *201*, *202*,

203, 211, 256 n.; last three chapters of I Maccabees not used by, 30, *221;* Testament of Mattathias omitted by, 32; use of Hebrew text by, 33; differences between I Maccabees and, 41, 42, 51, *83, 113, 115, 122, 123, 146, 154–155, 175, 183, 184, 185, 188, 200, 206, 236;* succession of High Priests described in, 44 n., 47 n.; on letters in I Maccabees, 45, 46; name of, for Hanukkah, 51, 52; literary affinity of, with I Maccabees, 55–58; on Antiochus's pagan altar, *76;* dates in, *77, 95, 108,* 260–261; Modin called a village by, *79;* version of, of king's offer to Mattathias, *81;* on the Nabataean country, *114;* on Hellenized Jews, *127, 137, 189;* on surrender of Beth Zur, *132–133;* on Bacchides, *137, 138, 165;* on civil war in Jerusalem, *139;* on battle of Alexander and Demetrius, *177, 178;* on Alexander's favor to Jonathan, *180;* on Demetrius's relations with Jonathan, *194–195, 196;* on Kadesh, *199;* on fortifying Judaea, *207;* on Adida, *208;* on taking of Joppa, *212;* on Tryphon's death, *238;* and the Seleucid and Olympiad eras, 254, 255, 257, 262–263
Joshua, Book of, *114, 162, 199*
Joshua ben Levi, *112*
Josippon, 58–60, *79, 142,* 247, 250, 251; quoted, *166,* 249, 263
Judaica (Willrich), 8 n.
Judges, Book of, *162, 198*
Judith, *202*
Justin, 6 n., 17 n., 35, 37, *69, 148, 177, 188, 193, 221, 222;* quoted, 40

Kahana, H., 66
Kappler, Werner, 65, 66
Kautzsch, C., 66
Kethubim Acharonim (Frankel), 66
Kid., 249 n.
I Kings, 51 n., *77, 176*
II Kings, *78, 84, 151*
Kittel, R., 51 n.
Klein, *114*
Klosterman, E., *91*

Lagarde, P. A., 65
Leviticus, 51 n., *200*
Liber, M., 53 n.
Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti (Fritsche), 66
Libri Vet. Test. apocryphi Syriace, 65
Life of Josephus. See *Vita* (Josephus)
Livy, 17 n., 26 n., 35, *83, 128, 129, 130, 131, 146, 147, 188, 193, 196, 216,* 258, 259 n.; quoted, *151*
LXX (Septuagint), 42 n., *74, 79, 86, 89, 96, 118, 219*

II Maccabees, 13 n., 14 n., 15 n., 16 n., 18 n., 27–28, 54, *71, 95, 100, 104, 109, 119, 123, 124, 135, 136, 202;* quoted, 17 n., *134, 143*
III Maccabees, *129*
IV Maccabees, 28 n.
Maimonides, 257
Marcus, *206*
Mark, Gospel of, 30 n.
Matthew, Gospel of, 30
Megillat Antiochus, 60–61, 250
Megillat Bet Hashmonai, 32
Megillat Taanit, 144; quoted, *106, 134, 220*
Megillat Taanit (Zeitlin), 16 n.
Memoir sur les monnaies dates des Seleucides (De Saulcy), 258 n.
Mendelssohn, L., and Ritschl, F., 41 n.
Meyer, E., 8 n., 51 n.
Michaelis, J. D., 66, *90, 156*
Midrash, 31 n., 250
Mishna, *106,* 251; quoted, *218–219*
Mommsen, Th., 255 n.
Müller, 263 n.

Nahmanides, 62
Natural History (Pliny), *116, 146*

Niese, B., 3 n.
Numbers, *110, 160;* quoted, 62

Odes (Horace), quoted, *118–119*
Oesterley, 41 n., 45 n., 47 n., 48 n., 57 n., 66
Old Testament in Greek, The (Sweete), 66
Onamastikon (Eusebius), *91, 101, 103, 111, 112, 115, 162,* 261 n.; quoted, *216*
Origen, 33, 248, 249; quoted, 64

Pal. (Robinson), *97*
Peshitta, 65, *77, 79, 107*
Pliny, *116, 146*
Plutarch, *69*
Polybius, 3, 6 n., 7 n., 9, 11 n., 16 n., 34, 56, *123, 124, 125, 128, 131, 135, 147, 180, 187,* 259 n., 260; quoted, 3 n., 10, *151*
Pompeius Trogus, 35; quoted, 40
Porphyry, 263
Prologus Galeatus (Jerome), quoted, 33 n., 63 n.
Psalms, 249; quoted, 28, *103*

Quellen des Flavius Josephus, Die (von Destinon), 29 n.

Rahlfs, A., 66, *130*
Rashi, *79;* quoted, 62
RB, 110, 111, 142, 153, 154
Reinach, 263 n.
REJ, 8 n., 53 n.
R.H., quoted, *218*
Rhein. Mus., 41 n.
Robinson, *97*
Rois des Syrie, Les (Babelon), 258 n., 261 n.
Römische Zeittafelen (Fisher), 255 n.

Sacrae Historiae (Severus), 258 n.
I Samuel, *118*
II Samuel, quoted, 62
Saulcy, M. De, 258 n.
Schürer, *141, 157, 238,* 253 n., 255 n.
Seder Olam Raba, 70
Septuagint. *See* LXX
Septuaginta (Rahlfs), 66
Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum (Kappler), 66
Severus, Sulpicius, 258 n.
Sitzungsberichte der Philos.-Philol.-Hist. Cl. der k. b. Akademie der Wiss. zu München (Unger), 253 n., 258 n., 260 n.
Slavonic Josephus, 60 n.
Smith, G., *159*
Song of Songs, 62
Strabo, *69, 112, 131, 187, 188, 193, 235*
Sweete, H. B., 66
Syrian Wars, The (Appian), 2 n., 9 n., 10 n., 35 n., *126, 127, 146, 231,* 259 n.

Talmud, 2 n., 26 n., 31 n., 52, 62, *74, 79, 124, 145, 153, 197, 199, 203,* 247 n., 250, 251, 254, 257; quoted, *96*
Tannaim, 62
Targum of Jonathan, 62; quoted, *82*
Taubler, E., *151, 152*
Testimonia (Cyprian), 65 n.
Tertullian, 64; quoted, 63
Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaisme (Reinach), 263 n.
Thackeray, 57 n.
Tobiaden und Oniaden (Büchler), 5 n., 8 n.
Torrey, C., 57 n., *156*
Tosefta, 26 n., 249 n.
Translatio Syra Pescitto Veteris Testamenti ex codice Ambrosiano, 65
Tscherikower, 8 n.

Uebersetz. der I Macc. mit Anmerkn. (Michaelis), 66
Unger, 253 n., 258 n., 260 n.
Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums (Meyer), 8 n., 51 n.

V, *78*, *79*, *92*, *103*, *160*, *175*, *193*, *239*; quoted, *76*, *77*, *80*, *82*, *83*, *84*, *96*, *127*, *158*, *166*; *see also* Vulgate
Varro, M. T., 255 n.
Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum Variis Lectionibus (Holmes and Parsons), 65
Vita (Josephus), *153*, *157*, 251
Vulgate, 42 n.; quoted, 61 n.

Wars of the Jews. See *Jewish War, The* (Josephus)
Welhausen, J., 51 n., *129*
Willrich, 8 n.

Zechariah, quoted, 62
Zeitlin, S., 13 n., 15 n., 16 n., 51 n.

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library
1 1012 01117 7450

DATE DUE

Demco, Inc. 38-293